

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

EXECUTIVE SESSION

PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

INTERVIEW OF: JEFFREY GORDON

Wednesday, July 26, 2017

Washington, D.C.

The interview in the above matter was held in Room HVC-304, the Capitol, commencing at 11:12 a.m.

Present: Representatives Rooney, Wenstrup, Schiff, Himes, Quigley, Swalwell, and Heck.

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Appearances:

For the PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

FOR JEFFREY GORDON

CHRIS ASHBY, ESQ.

KATE RENNOLDS, ESQ.

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[REDACTED] Good morning. This is a transcribed interview of J.D. Gordon. Thank you for speaking to us today.

For the record, I am [REDACTED] [REDACTED] for the majority at the House Intelligence Committee.

Also today are numerous other members and staff, and we will have them introduce themselves for the record, starting with Dr. Wenstrup. Introduce yourself for the record.

DR. WENSTRUP: Congressman Brad Wenstrup.

MR. SWALWELL: Congressman Eric Swalwell.

MR. HECK: Denny Heck from Washington State.

MR. SCHIFF: Adam Schiff from California.

MR. HIMES: Jim Himes, Connecticut.

[REDACTED] And in the back.

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] with the minority staff.

MR. QUIGLEY: Mike Quigley from Chicago.

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] minority.

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] minority staff.

[REDACTED] Thank you all.

Before we begin, I wanted to state a few things for the record. The questioning will be conducted by designated members and staff. During the course of this interview, members and staff may ask questions during their allotted time period. Some questions may seem basic, but that is because we need to clearly establish facts and understand the situation. Please do not assume we know any facts you have previously

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discussed as part of any other investigation or review.

During the course of this interview, we will take any breaks that you desire. There is a reporter making a record of these proceedings so we can easily consult a written compilation of your answers. The reporter may ask you to spell certain terms or unusual phrases you might use and may ask you to slow down or repeat your answers. We ask that you give complete and fulsome replies to questions, based on your best recollections.

This entire proceeding is at the unclassified level.

If a question is unclear or you are uncertain in your response, please let us know. And if you do not know the answer to a question or can't remember, simply say so. You are entitled to have a lawyer present for this interview, though you are not required to do so.

I see that you have brought counsel. At this time, I'd please ask that counsel state their names for the record.

MR. ASHBY: Chris Ashby.

MS. RENNOLDS: Kate Rennolds.

██████████ Thank you. As I said, the interview will be transcribed. Because the reporter cannot record gestures, we ask that you answer verbally. If you forget to do this, you might be reminded to do so. You may also be asked to spell certain terms or unusual phrases.

Consistent with the committee's rules of procedure, you and/or your counsel, if you wish, will have a reasonable opportunity to inspect the transcript of this interview in order to determine whether your

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answers were correctly transcribed. The transcript will remain in the committee's custody. The committee also reserves the right to request you return for additional questions should the need arise.

The process for the interview will be as follows: The minority will be given 45 minutes to ask questions. Then the majority will be given 45 minutes to ask questions. Immediately thereafter, we will take a 5-minute break should you desire, after which time the minority will be given 15 minutes to ask questions and the majority will be given 15 minutes to ask questions, and we will proceed thereafter.

These time limits will be strictly adhered to by all sides, with no extension being granted. Time will be kept for each portion of the interview with warnings given at 5-minute and 1-minute mark, respectively.

To ensure confidentiality, we ask that you do not discuss the interview with anyone other than your attorney.

Our record today will reflect that you have not been compelled to appear. You are reminded that it is unlawful to deliberately provide false information to Members of Congress or staff.

Lastly, the record will reflect that you are voluntarily participating in this interview which will be under oath.

Mr. Gordon, if you could raise your right hand to be sworn.

Mr. J.D. Gordon, do you swear the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

MR. GORDON: I do.

██████████ Thank you. Also a last reminder for those speaking

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during today's event. There is a microphone in front of you. Please make sure the green light is on so that the reporters can transcribe the entirety of the interview.

And, with that, Dr. Wenstrup, do you have any opening comments or would you like to hand it over to the --

DR. WENSTRUP: No.

[REDACTED] Very well. To you all then.

EXAMINATION

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Gordon, thank you for agreeing to voluntarily speak to us today as a part of our committee's investigation into the Russian active measures campaign in the 2016 election.

We received your letter dated May 22nd, 2017, responding to our committee's letter requesting an interview and responsive material. The committee has also received several thousand emails and attachments from your Trump campaign email account. To the extent we ask you questions about those emails, we will provide you with a copy so that you can refresh your recollection of those events. And if you would like, you know, a copy to refresh your recollection of those events, please also just let us know.

I first just wanted to start. And would you say it's fair to describe your career as being an expert in foreign policy and national security?

MR. GORDON: Yes, I would.

MR. SWALWELL: And you started out serving in the Navy?

MR. GORDON: I did.

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MR. SWALWELL: Thank you for that.

MR. GORDON: Thank you.

MR. SWALWELL: And how long did you serve in the Navy?

MR. GORDON: Twenty years.

MR. SWALWELL: And it's fair to say that your service in the Navy took you all over the world?

MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And can you describe some of the posts that you had when you were serving in the Navy?

MR. GORDON: Yes, absolutely. I was posted to Japan, Italy, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Norfolk, Virginia. Over a 20-year career, I had the opportunity to work in about 30-plus countries closely with our embassy teams. And I believe that my experience, both afloat and ashore, has enabled me to get a good grasp of foreign policy and national security.

MR. SWALWELL: And that service led you also to advising Presidential campaigns?

MR. GORDON: That's right, because my last 4 years in the Navy I spent at the Pentagon. I was a Pentagon spokesman. I served for 1 year under Secretary Rumsfeld and 3 years under Secretary Gates. So I got to become familiar with them and familiar with the staffs and familiar with how policy is made as a Pentagon spokesman, because I would sit through policy meetings at the senior level.

So when I retired from the Pentagon after a 20-year career, I was a Navy commander, I began to work directly in politics and media and

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think tanks. And that includes setting up events for Governor Sarah Palin on the East Coast and West Coast. I actually had the lovely opportunity to swing by the East Bay area to hand out some fliers and leaflets, a beautiful area.

MR. SWALWELL: Probably Pleasanton.

MR. GORDON: It was Pleasanton.

MR. SWALWELL: At the Fairground.

MR. GORDON: Yes, exactly.

MR. SWALWELL: I remember that event.

MR. GORDON: Oh, you do? Oh, did you come?

MR. SWALWELL: I did not. I was invited.

MR. GORDON: We invited you. It was at San Jose is where the event was. It was very well-received and got a great turnout. So yeah. Then in the 2012 cycle, I was Herman Cain's chief spokesman and his chief foreign policy adviser for our Presidential campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: That was a fun campaign.

MR. GORDON: It was a very fun campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: 999.

MR. GORDON: 999, exactly. You know, I actually wrote the communications plan for 999 that came true. And in selling my townhouse now, people say I should put a 999 brick inside. It's where the com plan was written.

But yes, it was a great campaign. And then this last cycle, I was Governor Mike Huckabee's chief foreign policy adviser, and then -- that lasted 1 year. And when the campaign ended, five of us

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from the Huckabee campaign went over to the Trump campaign, including Sarah Huckabee Sanders, who was the first one to join. And I joined the Trump campaign about a month later.

MR. SWALWELL: And during your posts, particularly abroad in the nineties, how would you describe your, just world view on U.S.-Russia relations at that time, your views at that time?

MR. GORDON: Throughout my career?

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. GORDON: Certainly skeptical in a lot of ways, and the public record shows that through my columns with the Washington Times and Daily Caller and other places. I also became a columnist and TV commentator when I left, the Pentagon, about a year after, so about 2010. So I had been pretty skeptical about Russia.

MR. SWALWELL: Why were you skeptical?

MR. GORDON: Well, because I realize that Russia is a threat to the United States and to NATO, to our friends in the Baltics, friends in Georgia, a threat to Ukraine as well. So I've been pretty skeptical.

MR. SWALWELL: And you weren't afraid to say that publicly in columns that you wrote?

MR. GORDON: I was not afraid to say that, and I did say that.

MR. SWALWELL: Or TV appearances that you made?

MR. GORDON: I did say that.

MR. SWALWELL: As well and when you were advising whether it was Candidate Palin or Candidate Cain, would you ever talk with them about your views on U.S.-Russia relations?

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MR. GORDON: Well, for Governor Palin, that was after she was already a candidate. And we didn't speak about any policy. It was strictly to just set up speaking events and do events. Mr. Cain and I, of course, talked a lot about policy, and I told him that Russia was a threat, but I don't believe our top threat.

MR. SWALWELL: All right. And how about on Mr. Huckabee's campaign?

MR. GORDON: It was similar. In fact, I was on Governor Huckabee's show a couple years before the campaign, and it was a segment about Russia that is publicly available on YouTube. I don't know if folks have seen it. But I was pretty critical of Russia. So was Governor Huckabee.

MR. SWALWELL: Were there any direct experiences you had that made you critical of Russia, I mean whether it was just decisions you were a part of, or was it just your broader knowledge?

MR. GORDON: I would say a broader view. I didn't have any specific negative experience with Russians.

MR. SWALWELL: All right. And then you would agree, at least throughout that period that we just described, that your position was largely aligned with what was the Republican party platform position?

MR. GORDON: The platform gets into a delicate thing, because that's a specific noun.

MR. SWALWELL: You know, I should be more careful. I mean like just the general consensus of Republican Party leaders.

MR. GORDON: I'd say so.

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MR. SWALWELL: Before coming to us, have you talked or been interviewed by Special Counsel Mueller or his team?

MR. GORDON: No, I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: In preparation for today's testimony, who have you talked to other than your counsel about this testimony?

MR. GORDON: About this testimony?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. GORDON: None, though I did appear before the Senate Intel Committee.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you talked to anyone at the White House about you coming here today?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about anyone that you knew from the campaign?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Anyone in the Trump family?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Trump businesses?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Or the President himself?

MR. GORDON: No, I have not talked to him.

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Gordon, have you ever been to Russia?

MR. GORDON: Yes, I have.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you go?

MR. GORDON: 1996.

MR. SWALWELL: And what was the nature of that trip?

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MR. GORDON: It was exercise cooperation from the sea, which was an amphibious exercise designed around humanitarian relief. And I went there for a planning conference for roughly a week; and then for the exercise, which was probably a couple weeks. I don't remember the exact time. So it was the summer of 1996, Vladivostok.

MR. SWALWELL: And you were with the Navy?

MR. GORDON: Correct. I was the spokesman for the Navy's Amphibious Forces 7th Fleet.

MR. SWALWELL: What city in Russia?

MR. GORDON: Vladivostok.

MR. SWALWELL: Oh, Vladivostok.

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And where did you stay, when you were there?

MR. GORDON: For the first week we stayed at a hotel. I don't recall the name of it. And for the exercise, I stayed aboard the flagship, which was the USS Belleau Wood.

MR. SWALWELL: And were you guys able to get out and about and around the area when you were there?

MR. GORDON: We were for the first week for the planning conference, because the planning conference was about a dozen naval officers and Marines. So we did for a little bit, but not extensively, not extensively outside of Vladivostok. We did some site surveys for an amphibious landing and for our Navy Seals to look where they were going to work with the Russian counterparts.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever meet any of your Russian counterparts

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on that trip?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So after you -- you said 10 days, about?

MR. GORDON: For the exercise.

MR. SWALWELL: How long were you in country, total?

MR. GORDON: Probably about 3 weeks, if you add the planning conference, which was a week, and then the exercise, which was 10 days to 2 weeks. It's probably publicly available to search on --

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. GORDON: -- Google or et cetera.

MR. SWALWELL: And then after you left that exercise, did your views change one way or the other with respect to Russia?

MR. GORDON: No, I wouldn't say so.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Why not?

MR. GORDON: Well, because I would say that I had always viewed them as a threat. When I was a midshipman, it was still the Cold War.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. GORDON: So the Soviet Union was the enemy. And so I thought the Russians were probably a threat. But the exercise went very well for us, for both the U.S. and the Russian Pacific Fleet, the U.S. Pacific Fleet, the Russian Pacific Fleet. They were very cordial, collegial. The exercise was fine. We didn't have any incidents at all. But I still viewed Russia as a threat.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. Now, have you maintained any contacts with Russians that you met while you were over there on that 1996 trip?

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MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you ever go to Russia again after that?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever been to any Russian neighbor state, like say Estonia or Poland or neighboring states?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Which ones?

MR. GORDON: Many over the years. When I left the Pentagon, I also became a think tank senior fellow at various different think tanks. So in part of that capacity, I've been to Finland, where I spoke at the Parliament. And on that same trip, this was in December 2014, I also visited Estonia and Latvia and Lithuania.

And then I spoke at the Georgia Defense and Security Conference in the summer of 2014, which was in Batumi, Georgia. I spoke at a think tank conference in Hungary in November of 2014, and I visited Ukraine on my own. Nobody funded it. I was curious to see what the deal was.

MR. SWALWELL: When was that?

MR. GORDON: That was November 2014. And I visited the western part, bordering Hungary and Slovakia. Berehove and Uzhgorod were the names of the cities, just for a couple days to learn about what life is like in Ukraine.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. And during any of those trips, did you interact with any I would say natives in those countries, foreign nationals to you?

MR. GORDON: Not in Ukraine other than as a tourist. So nobody.

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In Georgia, yes, of course. The President was in the front row of my remarks. In Estonia, I met with some government officials and some think tankers at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, at the I'd say deputy minister level.

And then in Latvia, I met with the minister of defense, because he was one of the co-panelists with me in Georgia. He's the President now. And in Lithuania, I met with some folks at their Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Energy.

MR. SWALWELL: So it's fair to say that you didn't just have just an academic knowledge or a policy knowledge of the threat that Russia posed, you had kind of a front-lines knowledge, you were able to see just how close these states were to Russia?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And how threatened they would be if Russia ever moved on them?

MR. GORDON: Certainly.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. And was that your takeaway of just the fear that folks had in those countries?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you maintained any contacts with any officials in those countries that you visited?

MR. GORDON: Not recently, no. Not for the past -- well, blanket statements are hard to characterize, but not recently.

MR. SWALWELL: And when you were visiting those neighboring states, did you ever meet with any Russians who were visiting those

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neighboring states or working in those neighboring states?

MR. GORDON: No, not in those states.

MR. SWALWELL: Where? Where did you meet with Russians?

MR. GORDON: Well, I didn't meet with any Russians.

MR. SWALWELL: Or talk with or chat with.

MR. GORDON: At a Hungarian think tank speech that I gave in I think it was November 2014, the one I just mentioned, there was a Russian panelist there as well. There were a couple of Russian panelists, but I don't even recall their names.

MR. SWALWELL: So you were just on the same panel together?

MR. GORDON: No, they were on different panels. But I know they were there. And so if somebody produced a photo, you said you didn't meet with Russians and here's a picture, I don't want to go down that road, because we've seen that on both sides of the aisle, frankly.

MR. SWALWELL: Yes. No, I hear you.

MR. GORDON: Thanks.

MR. SWALWELL: So whether it was your career in the Navy or working at the Pentagon, did you have any counterintelligence training that you can tell us in an unclassified setting about?

MR. GORDON: Nothing specific.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you just have a general awareness that we have foreign adversaries and particularly when as a U.S. person traveling abroad that you could be a target of recruitment?

MR. GORDON: Yes. I mean, that's kind of a standard thing for military officers when they go into different countries, particularly

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ones like Russia or China, where we don't necessarily have friendly relations. I have been to China as well in 1996 for a similar type thing. But we didn't do an amphibious exercise in China. It was a goodwill port visit to Shanghai. Yeah, we're told that. Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: And so when you were visiting either Russia or those neighboring states, did you have just your radar on a higher alert than if you were just walking through midtown Manhattan?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you visit any countries while you were working for the Trump campaign?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were you familiar with anyone else who you worked with on the Trump campaign visiting another country during the course of the campaign?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who?

MR. GORDON: Carter Page.

MR. SWALWELL: Anyone else?

MR. GORDON: To my recollection, no. I'd have to think about it for a second, but certainly nobody that I dealt with on any type of formal basis or regular basis, I wouldn't say that they did.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever coordinate any foreign travel and meetings by individuals associated with the campaign and during the transition?

MR. GORDON: No.

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MR. SWALWELL: Okay. We'll go back to Carter Page in a moment.

MR. GORDON: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: So it's fair to say that just, to your recollection, the only person associated with the Trump campaign that left the United States from the time Donald Trump announced he was President until the time that he was elected President was Carter Page?

MR. GORDON: That's the only one I'm aware of, but, you know, it was a big campaign. My world view of the campaign or my insights were relatively limited, as far as who I knew. I was in an office in Washington, D.C. I wasn't based in Trump Tower. And there were a lot of people that came and went from the campaign. People -- some people didn't last very long. So I would hate to make a blanket statement to say definitely not. The only one I'm aware of is Carter page.

MR. SWALWELL: And you needed votes inside the United States, right, not outside?

MR. GORDON: Yes exactly. Good point.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, March 2016, are you familiar with a campaign foreign policy meeting that took place at Trump Tower?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm sorry, Trump Hotel in Washington.

MR. GORDON: Yes, Trump Hotel in Washington, the Old Post Office at the time.

MR. SWALWELL: And it was at that time that the Trump Hotel was under construction?

MR. GORDON: Correct, yeah.

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MR. SWALWELL: Who attended that meeting?

MR. GORDON: It was Mr. Trump at one end of the table, Senator Sessions at the other end of the table. I was seated immediately next to Senator Sessions. And we had about a dozen folks who were on our National Security Advisory Committee, and there were also the few folks traveling with Mr. Trump who had traveled with him continuously. There's the picture. I was just going to reference it, but I'm glad you have it.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you mind if I show it to you?

MR. GORDON: Please do, yeah. Yea.

MR. SWALWELL: We'll put this into the record. But did you tweet about this meeting on April 8, 2016?

MR. GORDON: Most likely, I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And did you say: Great to join the Herman Cain on WBS Radio regarding real Donald Trump foreign policy national security meeting?

MR. GORDON: Yes, I think so.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. I'm going to show you the photo. Can you just identify who you recognize in that photo?

MR. GORDON: Sure. Seated next to me going down towards Mr. Trump is George Papadopoulos. Then after that is Joe Schmitz, then Bert Mizusawa and Jim Hoskins. That's Mr. Trump.

MR. SWALWELL: Can you spell Hoskins, for us please?

MR. GORDON: Sure. H-o-s-k-i-n-s. Mr. Trump. Then next to him is Walid Phares. Then Keith Kellogg, Chuck Kubic. The gentleman

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there, I'm trying to remember his name. Keith. His last name is escaping me right now. He's a nuclear expert who teaches at Missouri State University. His name will probably come to me during the course of this meeting. And Jeff Miller, who was a Congressman.

MR. SWALWELL: Former colleague, yeah.

MR. GORDON: Yeah. Former. That's right.

MR. SWALWELL: Good guy.

MR. GORDON: Good guy. Then Jim Carafano.

MR. SWALWELL: How long did that meeting last?

MR. GORDON: From what I recall, roughly two hours.

MR. SWALWELL: Actually, I'll show Mr. Wenstrup that.

DR. WENSTRUP: Thanks.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Candidate Trump present during the whole 2 hours?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And what was each individual's role in the meeting?

MR. GORDON: Our roles were to brief him on a topic of our choosing, wherever we felt our expertise was most relative, most useful for the campaign. And it was supposed to be about 5 to 7 minutes per person, with questions and answers.

MR. SWALWELL: Thank you. What topic did you brief on?

MR. GORDON: I talked to him about NATO, about Europe, about immigration, immigration in Europe, and the threat from radical Islamic terror groups. That was the gist of it.

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I had a column that I had written that I held up and talked about. It was in the Washington Times in 2014, I believe. It was called "As NATO Withers, Wither NATO."

MR. SWALWELL: Did you at all brief the President on U.S.-Russia relations or just Russia aggression in Eastern Europe or with Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: He addressed that in his remarks back to me.

MR. SWALWELL: What did he say?

MR. GORDON: He felt that -- that Ukraine is really Europe's issue to solve. I didn't mention the word "Ukraine," he did. And he thought that -- that the Europeans need to take a more active role, not only for their defense and our collective self-defense but for Ukraine as well, and that he did not want a World War III over Ukraine.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you agree with him? I mean, not did you tell him you agreed with him. Did just you personally as J.D. Gordon, did you agree with that statement?

MR. GORDON: I don't want a World War III with Ukraine either. So I told him that the Soviet Union is no longer, and that the bigger threats to Europe, in my opinion, were the threats from radical Islamic terrorism, the same things I've written in columns and been on TV about. They're killing people now, so you don't really see a lot of Russians going throughout Central and Western Europe marauding and killing people. You do see jihadists doing that.

And open borders, which you can have people come in who you don't know who they are. Some are radicalized, because they haven't -- many people haven't adjusted very well in Europe and it's a lot of Europe's

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fault as well.

MR. SWALWELL: Now did Mr. Trump say anything else about Ukraine or Russia, other than that interaction that the two of you had?

MR. GORDON: No, I don't recall him --

MR. SWALWELL: Was that the first time you'd ever heard Mr. Trump's views on Russia or Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: No, no. He -- during the campaign trail, he had made statements that he wanted to have better relations with Russia, pretty consistently.

MR. SWALWELL: When you were in an in-person setting and it's not, you know, publicly?

MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: That was the first time?

MR. GORDON: Yes. In person, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, was Jared Kushner at the meeting?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Paul Manafort?

MR. GORDON: I don't believe so.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. How about Lieutenant-General Michael Flynn?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Tera Dahl?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Ambassador Burt, do you know who he is?

MR. GORDON: I do know who he is.

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MR. SWALWELL: Was he there?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Jeff Sessions?

MR. GORDON: Well, yes, he's right here in this photo.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Rick Dearborn?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: He was there too?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: But not pictured?

MR. GORDON: Yeah. There were a group of people along this side and that side who were there. Some of the people who were either very close to Senator Sessions or with the traveling party with Mr. Trump.

MR. SWALWELL: Was there anyone else at the meeting that's not pictured that you remember being there?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who?

MR. GORDON: The traveling party: Corey Lewandowski, Hope Hicks, Keith Schiller, Stephen Miller. And then Sam Clovis was also there, because he was -- previous to Steven Miller during the campaign as the policy adviser in January, Sam had had that role from August of 2015 to January. And he was still the national co-chair is what Sam's title was. So he was there also.

MR. SWALWELL: Was there any discussion of Crimea? Did any discussion of Crimea take place?

MR. GORDON: No, I don't recall that coming up.

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MR. SWALWELL: Did any other participants other than you and Mr. Trump discuss Russia or Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall that coming up with the other ones either. It may have, but I don't recall it.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, do you remember a speech that Donald Trump gave the next month at the Mayflower Hotel?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Was that speech discussed in this meeting, or planning for that speech discussed?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: What was the outcome or like kind of action items that came out of that meeting?

MR. GORDON: There were none other than the team, the national security advisory team wanted to meet with Mr. Trump again soon. Senator Sessions was the chairman of our National Security Advisory Committee, and I was the director. Now, that said, all of those people here were not necessarily actual members of the team themselves. So Jeff Miller, for instance, he was there to provide advice on veterans, but he was not a member of our national security advisory team, just to be clear and to clarify.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Carter Page at that meeting?

MR. GORDON: No, he was not.

MR. SWALWELL: The following month, as I referenced on April 26, 2016, was the Mayflower speech, right?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

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MR. SWALWELL: Did you attend that speech?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who did you go with?

MR. GORDON: Well, I went with myself. I arrived by myself and I believe I left by myself. But my colleague there was Walid Phares, who I met there and worked together with him, who was also on our campaign for a short time.

MR. SWALWELL: And where were you living at that time?

MR. GORDON: Where was I living?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. GORDON: Arlington Virginia. I still live there.

MR. SWALWELL: So you overnighed just at your home. You didn't stay at a hotel?

MR. GORDON: Correct, correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And were you involved in planning or promoting that event?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: How so?

MR. GORDON: The week prior to the event, I was asked by the campaign to come up with a list of people who should be there, and to get our foreign policy, our national security advisory team there to be surrogates, because we were going to have probably 100 media.

And my job, my assigned task there was to come up -- help come up with the guest list, and then make sure I coordinated the surrogates and members of our national security advisory team with the media since

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I knew a fairly large contingent of the media as well. And then to do interviews myself as a surrogate when the speech was done.

MR. SWALWELL: What was Jared Kushner's role?

MR. GORDON: I didn't talk to him directly about it, but his role was to facilitate the event and to help -- his role was to come up with the event, together with the Center for National Interest, and to bring, help bring Mr. Trump there. And basically, he was one of the people in charge.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you involved in drafting Candidate Trump's speech?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: How so?

MR. GORDON: I gave talking points, more than talking points, I would say kind of an overarching policy framework to the campaign in March.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you in the policy framework write anything about U.S.-Russia relations or Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: I would say the things I gave to the campaign were reflected in the speech.

MR. SWALWELL: How did you transmit that to the campaign? Was it orally, was it by text or by email?

MR. GORDON: I believe it was on a piece of paper, a printed-out piece of paper, I believe, that I gave to Senator Sessions.

MR. SWALWELL: Is that something that we could have access to now?

MR. GORDON: Yeah, if I still have it.

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MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Do you mind checking?

MR. GORDON: I will check.

MR. SWALWELL: And what do you recall specifically that you recommended the President, the candidate say about Russia or Ukraine or U.S.-Russia relations?

MR. GORDON: To have better relations with Russia.

MR. SWALWELL: And you recommended that despite, as you described earlier, a long career of being very skeptical, as you said, about Russia?

MR. GORDON: Uh-huh. Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Why is that?

MR. GORDON: Why did I tell him that?

MR. SWALWELL: I guess why did you recommend something that you didn't particularly subscribe to for the body of your career up to that point?

MR. GORDON: Well, it was the Trump campaign and not the Gordon campaign. And he did make a valid point that we should have better relations with Russia. And so I tried to accommodate him, who was the candidate. I tried to accommodate his views, where I thought he had a fair point. And as the client, I would support him.

MR. SWALWELL: Who else was giving advice on the Mayflower speech that you were aware of?

MR. GORDON: Richard Burr. Bert said he did, but I didn't have any direct knowledge of that. I read it in the newspaper.

MR. SWALWELL: And who did you send your recommendation to?

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MR. GORDON: Well, I gave it to Senator Sessions, and then he forwarded it to Steven Miller. Steven Miller was the one who wrote the speech.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if anyone else helped Steven Miller write the speech?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall. I don't know. You'd have to ask him.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if Senator Sessions made any recommendations with respect to U.S., Russia, or Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: I don't know either. You'd have to ask him.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if anyone else other than yourself made recommendations with respect to the U.S.-Russia relationship or Ukraine for that speech?

MR. GORDON: I'm not aware of anyone else doing that. It was mostly a collaborative effort, I would say, with Steven Miller directly with Mr. Trump, based on the ideas that Mr. Trump already had. And Steven Miller was at this meeting in March, March 31st, and the speech was April 26th, I believe. So he had some time to think about Mr. Trump's views and things that Mr. Trump said. So I'd say it's fair to characterize that Mr. Trump's statements at that made it into Steven's notebook. Steven was taking notes, and he wrote the speech accordingly.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with the Center for the National Interest?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

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MR. SWALWELL: And did they play any role in the writing of that speech, or drafting of the speech?

MR. GORDON: Not to my knowledge. However, Ambassador Burt told the press he had a role in it, and he I believe has some role there at CNI.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever met Ambassador Kislyak from Russia?

MR. GORDON: No, not prior to Cleveland in July.

MR. SWALWELL: So did you see him on April 26 at the Mayflower?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you know who he was prior to that?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: How?

MR. GORDON: From media reports.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see him at the Mayflower then?

MR. GORDON: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did you see him?

MR. GORDON: I saw him when he was taking his seat, along with the other VIPs. There was a VIP reception behind the curtain, essentially. And when they all came out, the VIPs, dozens of them, they filed into their seats in the first and second row. And I was seated in the middle of the third row.

MR. SWALWELL: How did you know there was a VIP reception behind the curtain?

MR. GORDON: I was told by the campaign there would be a VIP reception.

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MR. SWALWELL: Did you go?

MR. GORDON: No, I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know who went? Meaning, I guess, formally, was there a list of who would be back there that you had seen?

MR. GORDON: I did not see any list, though I was aware that Senator Sessions would be there.

MR. SWALWELL: How were you aware that Senator Sessions would be there?

MR. GORDON: His chief of staff told me.

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Dearborn?

MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see Senator Sessions at the Mayflower?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did you first --

MR. GORDON: I first saw him when he was filing out into the seats as well.

MR. SWALWELL: From the VIP reception?

MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And where did he sit in the mix of chairs that was there?

MR. GORDON: You know, the seat that was supposed to be left for him someone else took. So I actually think he sat in the end of the row three, which was not supposed to be.

MR. SWALWELL: So the first two rows you said were designated for the VIPs.

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MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Did they have names on each seat?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: So --

MR. GORDON: Not to my recollection. No, no, they didn't.

MR. SWALWELL: Why did you think it was designated for him?

MR. GORDON: Because he should have obviously been seated in the first two rows for all the VIPs, since he was the chairman of our National Security Advisory Committee.

MR. SWALWELL: How long did the VIP reception last?

MR. GORDON: I don't know. I've read media reports about it, but -- I don't think it was long.

MR. SWALWELL: Just to your recollection.

MR. GORDON: Maybe 45 minutes or so. But I don't really recall, because I didn't see people when it started. I was busy introducing our National Security Advisory Committee and surrogates to press off to the sides and --

MR. SWALWELL: How about Jared Kushner, was he there?

MR. GORDON: I didn't see him back there. I saw -- I believe I saw Jared come out from the curtain, but I don't know if he was there, because I didn't see who was at the reception, other than people who filed out.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. Did you see Ambassador Kislyak and Jeff Sessions interact at all when they were in the main area?

MR. GORDON: No.

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MR. SWALWELL: Did you hear about Ambassador Kislyak or Jeff Sessions interacting at all when they were at the VIP reception?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And, I mean not from press reports, just from people you knew who were back there.

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: To your knowledge, again, just taking out what you have read in the paper, who did meet with Ambassador Kislyak that you knew?

MR. GORDON: No one.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see him greeting people when he was in the main hotel area where the speech was going to be given?

MR. GORDON: No, because when he came in, the first time I saw him was when everyone was seated and then he came into the file in the first two rows, and he sat down. And then I didn't see the VIPs when they got up, because as soon as the speech ended people clapped and then I immediately went to pair up people to do interviews.

MR. SWALWELL: I wanted to talk a little bit about Mr. Dearborn, but first during the campaign, how often did foreign officials meet with members of the campaign or the candidate?

MR. GORDON: Very rarely. I'm not aware of meetings with him, with the candidate, and foreign officials, to my recollection.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with an email dated on June 26, 2016, from Tera Dahl to Rick Dearborn with you and John Mashburn on the cc line? I'm happy to show it to you.

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MR. GORDON: Yeah, show it to me.

Yes, I'm familiar with this email.

MR. SWALWELL: And that email is from a Dr. Jim Katko?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who is he?

MR. GORDON: I don't know, but I did a little research about him and it seems that he's a Republican party official in Arlington.

MR. SWALWELL: And he identifies that he's from a Trump support group in D.C. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: Yes, that's what he wrote. Yeah. That's what he told me.

MR. SWALWELL: And he says that one of his members reached out to him to, quote/unquote, "back channel" a meeting request to Mr. Trump from the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: Yes, that's my recollection.

MR. SWALWELL: Who is Tera Dahl?

MR. GORDON: Tera Dahl is a foreign policy expert who was an aide to Congresswoman Michele Bachmann for about 7 years, and she was her personal assistant as well during the Presidential campaign.

She joined the campaign as Walid Phares' assistant. Walid Phares came in for a couple weeks as the foreign affairs adviser. And Tera was a diplomatic outreach coordinator, and then she went to work in the White House. Just left, apparently, according to media reports.

MR. SWALWELL: And Ms. Dahl sent the email to Rick Dearborn and John Mashburn, stating that you and she, you and Ms. Dahl, had discussed

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the email and recommended that Dr. Katko go through official channels at the Saudi Embassy for the meeting request. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: Yes, that's what I recall.

MR. SWALWELL: Tell me, outside of that email, what do you recall as far as your interaction with Ms. Dahl about that request and how you'd respond?

MR. GORDON: I would just say that it's better that he work through the official channels, because you would have sometimes people trying for all sorts of meetings or encounters or calls. I mean, it was pretty regular somebody would ask something. People were calling and emailing all the time. You've been on campaigns. You know. You get all sorts of crazy ideas from people.

MR. SWALWELL: You didn't think a back-channel meeting or back-channel setup was appropriate?

MR. GORDON: Well, clearly not, not in the context it was advertised to me. Really, any back-channel communications was not something that I thought we would be doing.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you recall whether the campaign typically used official diplomatic channels for these communications or whether they more frequently set up back channels of communication?

MR. GORDON: I wasn't aware of any back-channel communication. So if anyone had come to me or Tera, for instance, it was only have to -- the answer would be you have to work through official channels, of which they're set up via the embassies.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, Mr. Dearborn responded to the email and

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mentioned that you also, quote/unquote, "had a request from WV to set up a Putin meeting recently."

MR. GORDON: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: What was that about?

MR. GORDON: Somebody from West Virginia -- according to Rick, he said he got some call from somebody from West Virginia who was connected to -- I don't recall who, but that they wanted to set up a Putin meeting. So Rick said in the email, I'm dubious of such things.

MR. SWALWELL: So WV is West Virginia?

MR. GORDON: West Virginia.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And I assume Putin you believed was a reference to Russian President Vladimir Putin.

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if that meeting ever transpired?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Ms. Dahl responds to Mr. Dearborn's email reiterating: Quote, "It is best to refer him to the embassy and go through official channels rather than private. He can work with the embassy for the request." Do you remember that part?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: But then she goes on to say that: Quote, "Based on my experiences and J.D.'s on Presidential campaigns, this request is probably worth a significant dollar amount."

What did she mean by "request is probably worth a significant dollar amount"?

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MR. GORDON: Well, you'd have to ask her directly, but, based on my recollection, is she and I had been talking about on the Herman Cain and Michele Bachmann campaign a lot of people wanted to meet Michele Bachmann and Herman Cain, particularly when they were number one in the polls for their month or month and a half each. Their doors were getting beaten down by people who obviously would pay somebody money to do it.

So we figured this is probably the same type of thing. Somebody wants to make money somehow at our expense. And so we weren't interested in anything like that.

MR. SWALWELL: Did it mean in any way that the campaign would -- to take the meeting, the campaign would have to receive a contribution of sort from the individual requesting the meeting?

MR. GORDON: No. I think that's probably reading way too much into it. I just think that here are some staffers who had been -- senior staffers who had been on Presidential campaigns in very close positions to the candidates and just kind of know how the system works, where if someone wants to meet with the candidate there's going to be money involved. They're usually not doing it out of the kindness of their hearts. So we tried to dissuade any type of requests like that that we would get. And I don't really remember -- I remember these, but --

MR. SWALWELL: And just to your recollection, was that a practice of the Trump campaign that if individuals, particularly foreign nationals, were requesting meetings, that it would come with a

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significant dollar amount?

MR. GORDON: Well, in these two cases, just if they come out of the blue for some weird connection to Putin from West Virginia, yeah, that would be something that's very unusual and would probably come with a high dollar amount.

Now, that's different than embassies who want a meeting. Say the Italian Embassy or the French Embassy or the Turkish Embassy, because we got requests like that too.

MR. SWALWELL: I want to just show you -- and you referenced some of your tweets. Twitter was a platform you used to communicate. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: That is correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And you would agree that up until about 2016, if you were talking about Russia on Twitter, it was generally a skepticism of Russia?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And July 2016, was the Republican National Convention. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: Yes, July 2016.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you post any tweets in July 2016 with respect to your views on Russia?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall. I may have.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you remember your views on Russia, or do you believe your views on Russia evolved at all from April 2016 through today?

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MR. GORDON: Yes. I would say that, being on the Trump campaign and working with the campaign, I thought that we should have better relations with Russia than I did prior to joining the campaign, because Mr. Trump's position and Senator Sessions' position does have a merit that we should have better relations, and a bigger threat to most of Europe is radical Islamic terror groups and open borders.

MR. SWALWELL: I guess I was referencing, on July 31st, 2016, did you tweet: "Senator Sessions: Trump right, must end cycle of hostility with Russia"? And I'll show you this.

MR. GORDON: Yes. Yeah, I mean that's something that I have said, so --

MR. SWALWELL: And you would agree that was the first time, at least on Twitter, that you had tweeted something that was not skeptical of Russia?

MR. GORDON: Most likely, I'd say that's probably accurate.

[REDACTED] Five minutes, Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: Thanks.

Do you remember on September 9, 2016, tweeting: "U.S.-Russia seal Syria cease-fire, new military partnership"?

MR. GORDON: Say that, again, please.

MR. SWALWELL: "U.S.-Russia seal, s-e-a-l, Syria cease-fire, new military partnership."

MR. GORDON: Did I tweet that?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. GORDON: If you have it there, then it's most likely

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accurate. Yeah. I think I most likely did, yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: And then February 6 of this year: "Glad to join Neil Kavuto, Fox Business, regarding GOP lawmakers, President Trump, and Russia."

MR. GORDON: I remember that, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you remember on February 7th of this year retweeting an RT America story, "We have to squeeze the leadership in Tehran or else they won't budge"?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know who RT is?

MR. GORDON: I do.

MR. SWALWELL: Who do you understand RT to be?

MR. GORDON: Russia TV is an arm of the Russian Government. It's sort of like Voice of America for the U.S., but a little more -- well, let's just say a lot more deviation than that. That doesn't mean they don't say anything that has merit from time to time.

MR. SWALWELL: Had you ever retweeted anything from Russia from RT, whether it was on the U.S.-Russia relationship or anything, prior to that?

MR. GORDON: Not that I recall. I may have.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you go to the June 9, 2016 meeting that Donald, Jr. had with Russians?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with that meeting?

MR. GORDON: From news reports in the last 2 weeks.

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MR. SWALWELL: Did you read that email chain that has been published?

MR. GORDON: I took a look at it in the news, but I didn't really need to -- didn't feel the need to read it.

MR. SWALWELL: Knowing how you responded with the back-channel request email that I showed you earlier, how would you have responded if you had been on that email chain and were invited to that meeting?

MR. GORDON: Well, it's a difficult position to say, because that's not something that I would typically do.

MR. SWALWELL: Why not?

MR. GORDON: Because you see the way I operate from my email here. And if it's a back channel, it's not something that I want to participate in, and they need to work through official channels.

That said, the reality is Don, Jr. was the one who called the meeting. And so if you want to oppose Don, Jr. on something, that perhaps may be your last day on the campaign. Now, that said, I'm just going the extra mile for you on that, but -- so you can't say to someone you should not have been there, because if Don, Jr. calls you to a meeting, you would go, right?

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. Would you have advised against it if Don, Jr. had said, hey, should I take this meeting or not?

MR. GORDON: Of course.

MR. SWALWELL: Why?

MR. GORDON: Because I don't think we should do back-channel communications.

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MR. SWALWELL: How much time do we have?

[REDACTED] You have about a minute, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: How did you communicate when you were working for the campaign, meaning whether it was cell phone, iPad, email?

MR. GORDON: It was mostly via email, which I think you have, and our phones. We have -- we had a phone at my desk in my campaign office in Old Town, Alexandria.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you have a cell phone?

MR. GORDON: Not from the campaign. I had a personal cell phone.

MR. SWALWELL: How many phones?

MR. GORDON: One.

MR. SWALWELL: Just one?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you have a personal email address that you also used for campaign communications?

MR. GORDON: Very rarely, because we were told not to use them. So at the initial part of the campaign, I had some emails, but very, very few, because we were told not to use them. Usually it was someone emailing me, because they knew my email address, but I didn't routinely conduct business on a Yahoo account.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever use any messenger apps?

MR. GORDON: No. That's before I got into the new age with messenger apps.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you get into that age?

MR. GORDON: Later. Not -- I wasn't using apps during the

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campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: How did others on the campaign communicate?

MR. GORDON: Email, phone, meetings. I did a lot of meetings at our Old Town office as well.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar with anyone using their personal email accounts to communicate who worked for the campaign?

MR. GORDON: Not that I recall. There could have been. One distinction that it's important to make before you run out of time is that the National Security Advisory Committee people like Carter Page did not have a DonaldTrump.com email account. And people like Carter Page were very loosely affiliated with the campaign and had really no roles or responsibilities. It's been blown out of proportion quite a bit.

MR. SWALWELL: My last question: On Twitter, would you ever use the direct message platform to, you know, directly message somebody? It wouldn't be a public post, but to just send a message back and forth.

MR. GORDON: I started to learn that a few months ago, to use that, and -- by reading media reports of other people doing it. But no, that's not something that I was accustomed to doing. I don't --

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. GORDON: -- like to do that typically, because I don't know who's going to read it.

MR. SWALWELL: Facebook, the same. I know you have a Facebook account. Did you use the Facebook messenger app ever?

MR. GORDON: Yeah, but I deactivated my account when I joined the

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campaign.

[REDACTED] Over to you, Dr. Wenstrup.

EXAMINATION

DR. WENSTRUP: Thank you very much, Mr. Gordon. Thank you for being here today. I'm going to start by thanking you for your years of service in our military.

MR. GORDON: Thank you.

DR. WENSTRUP: I am a servicemember myself. I appreciate the challenges that go with that in serving your country.

And forgive me on some of these questions too. I never planned on necessarily being in politics. That came later. My first campaign literally took place in my kitchen with a campaign manager who was basically a volunteer. So when I get into some of these campaign questions, I'm not necessarily familiar with the scope of a larger campaign, especially for Presidential.

I was also kind of curious too. You were talking about that humanitarian mission I believe in 1996. And that was a different time, I would say. You know, I can recall, just by observation, even people talking about maybe the new Russia even joining NATO at some point.

MR. GORDON: Yes.

DR. WENSTRUP: There were conversations like that. So your experience with Russian military and the Russian people in 1996, would you say it changed after Putin came to power as Prime Minister/President, President/Prime Minister? Were some of your -- did you have different feelings about Russia say between the

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time in 1996 and when he came into power?

MR. GORDON: I would say it was steady. My views remained steady on Russia.

DR. WENSTRUP: You had the same skepticism, perhaps? I don't want to put words in your mouth.

MR. GORDON: I would say that after Putin had been in office for a number of years, my skepticism started to grow.

DR. WENSTRUP: So that was just kind of an aside that I wanted to ask you about. I was curious about your feelings during that time. Again, I didn't join the military until 1998, so my engagement in these types of issues took some time to develop.

When the 2016 campaign began, who did you support?

MR. GORDON: Governor Huckabee.

DR. WENSTRUP: And when did you endorse Donald Trump?

MR. GORDON: I believe it was February 28 of 2016. In The Hill, there was an article about it.

DR. WENSTRUP: So that was an actual date where you said, this is who I support at this point?

MR. GORDON: Right, and The Hill wrote an article about it.

DR. WENSTRUP: And when did you become affiliated with the Trump campaign in any way?

MR. GORDON: The next week.

DR. WENSTRUP: Over time, and looking back on Mr. Trump's campaign since he started, or things he might have even said before he was a candidate, was there ever a foreign policy change, especially

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in regard to Russia that you ever saw or observed since 2015 from Mr. Trump?

MR. GORDON: No. I'd say Mr. Trump's views on Russia have remained relatively consistent, that he's wanted better relations with Russia.

DR. WENSTRUP: So you didn't see any change over the course of time or during the time that you were involved with the campaign at all?

MR. GORDON: Not that I saw.

DR. WENSTRUP: So when you became part of the Trump campaign, what was your official role?

MR. GORDON: National security adviser in our policy office.

DR. WENSTRUP: Did you have any unofficial responsibilities?

MR. GORDON: Well, it was -- part of my official responsibilities included to be the director of the National Security Advisory Committee.

DR. WENSTRUP: So that leads to my next question. What was the National Security Advisory Committee and who were its members?

MR. GORDON: It was an advisory committee designed to help the President formulate national security and foreign policy decisions. And there was roughly 15 people. It started out with eight people from a list that Sam Clovis compiled in early March. President Trump announced five people on that list at The Washington Post Editorial Board. I think it was March 20, 2016. And then he announced another three the next week. Eight. And then Senator Sessions and I filled

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out the rest of the group over the next month or two.

DR. WENSTRUP: So this was all foreign policy as it related to virtually every country that may be brought up for discussion?

MR. GORDON: Foreign policy, national security.

DR. WENSTRUP: And what was your relationship to this committee? What did you do? What did you serve? How did you serve on that committee?

MR. GORDON: I was the director of the committee, and Senator Sessions was the chairman. So I would report to him on how things are progressing with the committee, and we would have roughly monthly dinners in the spring and summer to give them campaign updates.

The issue is the committee only met one time with Mr. Trump. That's this meeting right here that Congressman Swalwell presented to us. That's the only time they ever met with him.

DR. WENSTRUP: And when was that, again?

MR. GORDON: March 31, 2016.

DR. WENSTRUP: And did you get feedback, directly or indirectly, from the President during the course of your time on this committee to the advice that maybe you brought forward?

MR. GORDON: He was very appreciative of what everybody said and very I would say kind in his remarks to us and very thankful.

DR. WENSTRUP: Were there ever times that you observed Donald Trump changing his opinions or policies, based on the advice that he was given?

MR. GORDON: I did not observe that directly, though, of course,

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I did read about it in the press later where he would change his mind on some things, waterboarding, for instance.

DR. WENSTRUP: But nothing involving Russia?

MR. GORDON: Nothing involving Russia.

DR. WENSTRUP: And where were you based?

MR. GORDON: Here in Arlington, Virginia. And our office at the Trump campaign for the Washington, D.C. office was in Old Town, Alexandria.

DR. WENSTRUP: And who were your supervisors or key senior staff?

MR. GORDON: The chief of staff, Rick Dearborn, ran the office.

DR. WENSTRUP: Okay. And Mr. Sessions' role?

MR. GORDON: Well, he was the chairman of the National Security Advisory Committee, and he was based, of course, in his Senate office. And he did not come down to the Washington, D.C. office in Old Town.

DR. WENSTRUP: Did you have any subordinates?

MR. GORDON: No, not in a direct sense, other than a couple -- three researchers I brought onto the campaign, who then basically -- I brought them on as subordinates and then they got shared by everyone else.

DR. WENSTRUP: How often did you meet or interact with the candidate himself?

MR. GORDON: Just twice.

DR. WENSTRUP: Okay, just those times.

MR. GORDON: This time and then June at Trump Tower.

DR. WENSTRUP: How about with Corey Lewandowski?

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MR. GORDON: I met him twice, also at this meeting and at Trump Tower.

DR. WENSTRUP: Paul Manafort?

MR. GORDON: I met him twice also, once in the Old Town office and once at Trump Tower.

DR. WENSTRUP: Steven Miller?

MR. GORDON: I knew him a little more, because he was the policy adviser with Mr. Trump. So I met him probably three times.

DR. WENSTRUP: Jared Kushner?

MR. GORDON: I've never actually met Jared Kushner.

DR. WENSTRUP: Were you paid or were you a volunteer?

MR. GORDON: The arrangement -- the answer is no, I was never paid. The arrangement was that we would join the campaign in March, and that there would be a budget for us in July and we would get compensated then. And then that offer went away in late July, after the nomination was sealed, which is why most of the policy office fell away by August 10th or so.

DR. WENSTRUP: Okay. Were you involved with other Presidential campaigns before 2016?

MR. GORDON: Yes. As I was mentioning earlier, I was Herman Cain's chief spokesman and chief foreign policy adviser.

DR. WENSTRUP: And did you deal with Russian issues then?

MR. GORDON: No, other than just to give him a general sense of my thoughts of Russia.

DR. WENSTRUP: If it came up, you would advise and participate

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in the conversation?

MR. GORDON: Right. Correct. Mostly as part of debate prep and things he should say and things I would recommend he say or not say.

DR. WENSTRUP: During that campaign, what were your thoughts when Mitt Romney said that Russia was the greatest geopolitical threat that we face? What were your personal thoughts on --

MR. GORDON: I thought he was incorrect, even at the time. Even though I'm skeptical of Russia, I thought that's incorrect.

DR. WENSTRUP: Can you describe the relationship between the Trump campaign's D.C.-based policy team and the campaign headquarters in New York?

MR. GORDON: Yes. It was a relationship where the senior members of the policy team would coordinate directly with Steven Miller, and that's about the extent of it. It was -- there were very little daily interactions, I'd say, between the entire office and New York.

Rick Dearborn, of course, was in touch with Jared Kushner multiple times a day and Corey Lewandowski or Paul Manafort, but the rest of us mostly were directly in touch with Steven at the policy office.

DR. WENSTRUP: And are you familiar with the September 8, 2016, Washington Post article titled "Inside the collapse of Trump's D.C. policy shop"?

MR. GORDON: I'm familiar with it.

DR. WENSTRUP: Were you a source for this article?

MR. GORDON: I was called for it, so I wouldn't say I was necessarily the source for it, but I did get a call from the reporter

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asking about it.

DR. WENSTRUP: Was there anything in there that was a quote from you or paraphrasing you that you're aware of?

MR. GORDON: Not that I recall.

DR. WENSTRUP: Do you agree with the claim in the article that the real policy work in the Trump campaign was being done by a small team based in New York's Trump Tower?

MR. GORDON: I would say Steve Miller, yeah, who brought in a research assistant, and I can't recall his name.

DR. WENSTRUP: And do you agree with the claim in the article that the National Security Advisory Board had absolutely no say in anything?

MR. GORDON: Yeah. That's pretty accurate, other than the fact that this one meeting they had was helpful I think to Mr. Trump in formulating his world view, helping Steven Miller formulate the speech. So other than that one meeting, I would say that that is correct.

DR. WENSTRUP: And when and why did you terminate your affiliation with the campaign?

MR. GORDON: Over workload and compensation issues. I wouldn't have minded working an hour or two a week if it was continuing -- if it was continuing to be free, but not at 100 hours a week.

DR. WENSTRUP: Do you currently have a role, either official or unofficial, in the Trump campaign?

MR. GORDON: No.

DR. WENSTRUP: Can you summarize the campaign's position towards Russia?

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MR. GORDON: Well -- the campaign's?

DR. WENSTRUP: Uh-huh.

MR. GORDON: Was to have better relations with Russia. It was a very large macro-strategic thought. It wasn't any type of detail. It was just in the broad sense, we need to have better relations with Russia.

DR. WENSTRUP: And your role in forming that position for the campaign?

MR. GORDON: Well, it was when I talked to Senator Sessions in March about some things I think should be in the speech for the foreign policy speech, because the foreign policy speech at the Mayflower was really designed to be the really end-all, be-all of foreign policy/national security.

And once we had that, we didn't really need to have any more policy, policy papers, or anything like that, other than the daily meet talking points for XYZ that happens with the Islamic State, et cetera, which I provided to Steven Miller.

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[12:12 p.m.]

DR. WENSTRUP: So you stated today that you thought Mitt Romney's assessment of Russia at the time was incorrect and you felt that we should form better relations with Russia?

MR. GORDON: From a position of strength, yes.

DR. WENSTRUP: And do you feel that was consistent with the Obama administration?

MR. GORDON: I think the Obama administration tried to have better relations but for getting nothing in return at all. So I was critical of the Obama administration for just having this reset when 20 percent of Georgia was already occupied. I didn't think that was appropriate.

I think we should have better relations with Russia. I still do. But based on a position of strength, what do you get versus what do you give?

DR. WENSTRUP: Yeah. And I can't help but think about the conversation between President Obama and Medvedev where he said --

MR. GORDON: Hot mike.

DR. WENSTRUP: Hot mike. And he said, after my election I will have more flexibility, and Medvedev said, I stand with you.

MR. GORDON: Right.

DR. WENSTRUP: So that pretty much tells me he's seeking better relations. And so, in your opinion and your experience in Russia issues, would you say it was consistent with the Obama administration?

MR. GORDON: To have better relations, sure.

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DR. WENSTRUP: Okay. Thank you. I think I'm going to yield to Mr. Rooney at this time.

MR. ROONEY: Thanks, Dr. Wenstrup.

What's our side's time?

[REDACTED] We've got until 12:45, sir.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. My questions are sort of along the same line. I'm just trying to get a sense of sort of the org chart here. So you have the candidate. You have obviously his close advisers. If we could sort of break it down for somebody like, you know, Trump's org chart for dummies -- that being me -- and your National Security Advisory Board. What again was your title?

MR. GORDON: I was the national security adviser in the policy office.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. So you were the -- you ran that shop?

MR. GORDON: Well, the shop was me, and, like I mentioned to the Congressman, the research team that I brought in, three people, which got to be shared resources for research for everything.

MR. ROONEY: So who hired you?

MR. GORDON: Senator Sessions.

MR. ROONEY: Senator Sessions. And when was that?

MR. GORDON: In March.

MR. ROONEY: March of 2016?

MR. GORDON: 2016, yes. And then our formal --

MR. ROONEY: When he hired you or when he brought you all in and he told you to sort of like start organizing policy papers or

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whatever -- I assume that's what he did -- were you given any guidance by him, or was it Stephen Miller who started like, you know, this is sort of Trump's philosophy on national security issues or foreign policy. You know, how did that sort of evolve?

MR. GORDON: It was initially Senator Sessions. And then after maybe a month or so it was directly interacting with Stephen Miller. And a lot of the things Stephen Miller would ask would be for fact checking on things he was already planning to write or put in speeches, so I spent a lot of time fact checking.

MR. ROONEY: Were you getting paid at this time?

MR. GORDON: No, I never got paid.

MR. ROONEY: Never got paid.

MR. GORDON: I got paid on the Huckabee campaign full time and the Cain full time but not on this one.

MR. ROONEY: And I'm sorry for repeating this question. You said that you left -- when did you leave the campaign again?

MR. GORDON: On or about August 10, 2016.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. Did the whole board shut down at that point?

MR. GORDON: The National Security Advisory Committee, yes, for the most part it did. Because the only connection really it had with the campaign was through me or Senator Sessions, and after I left I was not replaced. And so Senator Sessions didn't have time to run an advisory committee.

MR. ROONEY: What was your impression of -- within the inner circle of the Trump campaign on a more routine basis who he was getting

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his national security advice from? Stephen Miller?

MR. GORDON: Stephen Miller. And prior to that, Sam Clovis.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. What about General Flynn?

MR. GORDON: Yeah. He would get advice from General Flynn, I believe, but I never witnessed any interaction with him and General Flynn. I never met Mr. Flynn myself and did not communicate with him on the campaign. So he was a separate entity from the National Security Advisory Committee, which was the formal structure put in place.

MR. ROONEY: Did you have -- I know this sounds silly, but did you have Trump campaign, like, business cards to hand out and that kind of stuff, like official campaign credentials?

MR. GORDON: No. It's not a silly question at all. I did not have business cards. We started to have business cards made in April when the office officially opened. And then that was cast aside because someone in the New York headquarters had handed a business card out and some media lied about what was promised and so we never got cards. And also we had kind of a high turnover right at the beginning. So then the effort to give people cards just went away.

MR. ROONEY: So basically Sessions brought you all in, and then, essentially from the beginning in the spring of 2016, you guys -- your primary role was to help fact check for the campaign. And then, I think, that you were talking about preparing for this foreign policy speech at the Mayflower?

MR. GORDON: Right.

MR. ROONEY: Would you say that that's the gist of the totality

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of what you guys were focused on?

MR. GORDON: No. It was also doing what would be construed as constituent relations with people that wanted to have access to Mr. Trump or Senator Sessions. Senator Sessions and I conducted a lot of meetings with people over at Jones Day law firm who were former ambassadors or generals and admirals, people that were getting out on TV, people that were in think tanks.

So that made up a lot of what I did. I was on the phone pretty often receiving calls for people that wanted access to the campaign or to tell us what should the policy be. And in campaigns, when you have donors, you want to be able to accommodate them. And so people didn't -- weren't going to have access -- most people, to Mr. Trump or Senator Sessions.

So then anyone who was a retired general or former ambassador, they would typically say call J.D. and we'll see if we can set up a meeting with Senator Sessions. And if it wasn't at that level, it would just be talk to J.D. So I spent a lot of time on the phone.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. Say I'm a retired general and I've got a lot of great ideas for Trump, and I want to get that message. So who typically would I call first?

MR. GORDON: Well, people -- I don't know who you'd start with. There was a --

MR. ROONEY: But they would eventually direct me to you?

MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. ROONEY: And then how would you get me to Trump?

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MR. GORDON: I wouldn't get anybody to Trump. I would get them to Senator Sessions, if Senator Sessions agreed with the meeting.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. And then from there whether or not I ever got to meet Trump was up to Senator Sessions?

MR. GORDON: Or if they could get in some other way.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. What other way would that be?

MR. GORDON: I don't know. General Flynn had a direct relationship with Mr. Trump that I wasn't a part of.

MR. ROONEY: So there are other avenues besides you?

MR. GORDON: Oh, yeah, for sure.

MR. ROONEY: So let's talk about Carter Page. So can you tell me what your relationship was with Carter Page?

MR. GORDON: He was a member of the National Security Advisory Committee, and I was the person who was the conduit for the advisory committee to the campaign. So I saw him four times at different events we had, dinners, these dinners we would do just to keep the guys informed.

MR. ROONEY: So the National Security Advisory Committee and the National Security Advisory Board are two different things?

MR. GORDON: Two different things.

MR. ROONEY: So you didn't hire Carter Page to be like on the board?

MR. GORDON: I don't know what you mean by board.

MR. ROONEY: I don't either. I'm trying to get an org chart here.

MR. GORDON: Okay. There was no board to my recollection. It

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was National Security Advisory Committee. Carter Page was brought on through a list that Sam Clovis developed, that list of eight I was telling the Congressman earlier, Congressman Wenstrup.

There were a list of eight people that was the initial list of the foreign policy National Security Advisory Committee. Carter Page was on that list. So that's how I got introduced to him. Senator Sessions and I, if you will, inherited those eight people.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. And you say you met him four times?

MR. GORDON: In group settings.

MR. ROONEY: So did you have any professional sort of interactions with him on developing policy or helping work the Trump campaign in any way? Like did you get to see his, I guess, job duties on a daily basis or at all?

MR. GORDON: Well, he had no --

MR. ROONEY: What were your impressions of what he was supposed to be doing for the campaign?

MR. GORDON: It was almost like I described for the meeting we had where everybody had an opportunity at that one meeting on March 31 at Trump -- the Trump Hotel now, the Old Post Office at the time. Everybody had 5 to 7 minutes to brief on whatever subject they felt most comfortable or their expertise was.

So I would say it was the same for the National Security Advisory Committee where they felt that they could bring to the table whatever they wanted to bring. And so sometimes people had news articles they wanted to share. Some had op eds they wanted to do. Some had speeches

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they wanted to make. Some had policy papers they wanted to share.

So I told all of them, if you have anything like that, send it to me and I'll pass it up the chain if I think it can be used by Stephen Miller or Mr. Trump or the Senator.

MR. ROONEY: So if Carter Page wanted to get some information to Stephen Miller or Mr. Trump, would they have to go through you, or could he do it on his own?

MR. GORDON: They were supposed to go through me.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. So you sort of technically outranked Carter Page?

MR. GORDON: Well, with no rank structure around.

MR. ROONEY: Yeah.

MR. GORDON: Yeah, I mean, it was clear to the National Security Advisory Committee that I was named the director, though never in a press release, that they were told to just go work through J.D. for anything they want to send. But that wasn't always the case. People went around me from time to time.

MR. ROONEY: Did he ever do work out of your office?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. ROONEY: Where was he as far as you know?

MR. GORDON: I believe he was based in New York.

MR. ROONEY: Was he based at Trump Tower?

MR. GORDON: No. He allegedly was based around the corner, but he claims, at least from what I read in the media, to have been in Trump Tower at some point during the campaign, which I didn't know about until

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reading it this year in the papers.

MR. ROONEY: What do you think that Carter Page's role was in formulating actual campaign policy towards Russia and the Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: Zero.

MR. ROONEY: Why do you say that?

MR. GORDON: Because I told him at the outset I didn't need any help with Russia. We already have our basic strategic point, which is that we have to have better relations with Russia.

MR. ROONEY: Do you think that he was getting that policy impressions to Stephen Miller or somebody else around you?

MR. GORDON: It's possible, but even if he did, Stephen, I doubt, would have listened to him.

MR. ROONEY: Why?

MR. GORDON: Stephen was a big believer in the chain of command, and he didn't have time for people sending him things. Stephen was getting, I would say, I don't know for certain how many, but at least 1,000 emails a day, sort of like I was getting on the Cain campaign 1,000 emails or calls a day.

MR. ROONEY: So you would say that Stephen would take your emails more seriously than Carter Page's?

MR. GORDON: Well, yes, Stephen and I had a dialogue because my role in the campaign, I had an official title in the campaign, a DonaldTrump.com email account.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. Just to go back a second, real quick.

Did -- so Sam Clovis was the one that sort of brought Carter Page in.

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He was one of these eight people that were foreign policy advisers, and you said that you sort of inherited those eight people.

What was -- what do you know about Carter Page's relationship with Russia or the Russian Government, if any, or do you know anything about that?

MR. GORDON: Just from what I read in the media.

MR. ROONEY: Did you know it back then or since the --

MR. GORDON: No, since then.

MR. ROONEY: Since the election?

MR. GORDON: Since the election.

MR. ROONEY: So you did not know then that he traveled to Moscow in July of 2016?

MR. GORDON: So let me rephrase that. I must have misunderstood your question. Yes, I did know that he went to Russia in 2016 in July to give a speech at the New Economics School. He had sent me a request in, I believe, May.

And the standard procedure for these type of requests, we had a form for any of the advisers on the national security advisory team to send in a form, a one-pager for any speeches, public events like that, and any media interviews. So he sent me the requests in May to go to Moscow. Then I told him it was a bad idea. So I never said that he could go to Moscow.

MR. ROONEY: Why?

MR. GORDON: I know some things have been said contrary to that. False things have been said, and it's pretty damaging to me personally

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because people think I'm in cahoots with Carter and the Russians. So that was damaging.

MR. ROONEY: Why did you think it was a bad idea?

MR. GORDON: Well, because I thought it was --

MR. ROONEY: I mean, then there wasn't really this sort of what we see now as far as the, you know, focus on Russia. What was your concern at that point in July?

MR. GORDON: That it would be a news story; that it would reflect negative effectively on Carter and the campaign; and that already asking for better relations with Russia was pushing the envelope anyway. And so then to have one of the named advisers, who was named in the Washington Post, be in Russia giving a speech, even though Carter would tell me in his lobbying for this that he wanted to be on the same level as President Obama essentially.

President Obama gave a speech to the New Economics School in 2009. So Carter's logic was that if President Obama could do it, surely I could do it because he wanted to be on the same level. But I said that's not a good way to look at it.

The way to look at it is you're going to get attacked by the press and so will the campaign, so it's not a good idea. Eventually he went around me and Corey Lewandowski gave him the permission, who was the campaign manager at the time, in an email.

MR. ROONEY: That was my next question. So you have this form. You said no and he still went. So he went because Mr. Lewandowski said it was okay?

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MR. GORDON: I said it was a bad idea. I didn't tell him he couldn't go. Because my lines of authority were to tell the campaign manager if somebody was going to get disapproved because of what the issue is I was trying to --

MR. ROONEY: So Lewandowski kind of trumped you, no pun intended. He basically said, no, you can go, Carter?

MR. GORDON: Well, yes, in the sense that that happened. Carter sent a note directly to Corey and to Hope and he copied me on my campaign email. You guys should have it. So it's clear. It's in black and white.

MR. ROONEY: Yeah.

MR. GORDON: But I don't think Corey knew that I had told him it was a bad idea, because I didn't communicate regularly with Corey. I only met him twice saying pleasantries in March and June. So Corey and I did not have a direct dialogue.

MR. ROONEY: Was this trip after you saw it happen and Corey Lewandowski approved of it, was he representing the campaign or was he purporting to represent the campaign on this trip in this speech?

MR. GORDON: Corey made it clear in the email that he could go if he represented himself as a private citizen not with the campaign. What I've read in the media since then is that the Russian organizers affiliated him with the campaign, of which I would have no idea of that. But I've read that in the media since the campaign.

MR. ROONEY: Did you talk to him after he got back about that trip?

MR. GORDON: No. I did see him afterwards at the GOP National

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Convention, but I did not want to talk about that trip.

MR. ROONEY: Did you talk to anybody about his trip after he made the trip?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall talking to anybody about --

MR. ROONEY: I mean, you didn't like sort of vent, like what is he doing over there? Why did he go, makes us look bad or anything like that?

MR. GORDON: I'm sure I mentioned it to my colleagues inside the Washington, D.C. policy office, but not in the broader Trump campaign.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. I'm just trying to sort of like get, you know, a clear picture of this Carter Page guy. So it seems like Clovis brought him in. He was one of these eight original foreign policy guys. You came in subsequently and you reported to Sessions slash Stephen Miller to help with foreign policy issues, fact checking, getting ready for the speech and things like that.

You didn't have direct access to the President. And Carter Page, you only met a few times, and basically you didn't really have much control over him, so to speak, with regard to what his activities were on the campaign?

MR. GORDON: That's right.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. Do you know -- this is sort of not a good attorney question to ask because it's hearsay and sort of third person. But do you know what kind of access Carter Page had to the President?

MR. GORDON: He had none, to my recollection.

MR. ROONEY: What about to Stephen Miller or Bannon?

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MR. GORDON: None to Bannon. I do recall him sending an energy policy point paper to me and Stephen ahead of the President's speech that was going to be in North Dakota about energy. But I don't think Stephen read it, and certainly it wasn't indicated in the President's speech, the things Carter had said about energy policy.

MR. ROONEY: What do you think Carter Page's -- I guess my question would be, I'm trying to figure out if he -- well, you already -- just give me a second here to try to think of my next question with regard to if he had -- if he had no direct access to the President, you're not sure if he met Stephen Miller or Bannon or anybody, I guess, close to the President that would have his ear, so to speak.

MR. GORDON: He met Senator Sessions once at a group dinner.

MR. ROONEY: He met him at a dinner?

MR. GORDON: Well, one of the group dinners I organized, Senator Sessions was the keynote speaker, if you will, for just our group of about 12 people. So he saw him that one time at least.

MR. ROONEY: Let me just close with this question on Carter Page: In your opinion, in your capacity in the campaign, what would you say that Carter Page's impact on the campaign or how -- I hate to use this word -- how important was he in the campaign when it came to the grand scheme of things of formulating foreign policy for the actual Trump campaign? How seriously was Carter Page taken by Trump, by Bannon, by Stephen Miller, by Mike Pence, in your opinion?

MR. GORDON: He had no impact on the campaign's foreign policy, and to my knowledge, never met Trump, never briefed Trump, never sent

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Mr. Trump anything. The one policy paper that I do recall from him was about energy to me and Stephen, and Stephen didn't use it. So really, he had zero impact. It was just unfortunately a negative impact that he did have after he went to Russia and then there were news reports about that.

MR. ROONEY: What's my time like, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] You've got about another 10 or 12 minutes.

MR. ROONEY: Let's switch gears here a little bit and talk about the DNC and the leaks. When did you first become aware of the hacking of the DNC?

MR. GORDON: In the summer.

MR. ROONEY: When did you first become aware of the dumping of the DNC emails?

MR. GORDON: In the summer.

MR. ROONEY: Can you be anymore specific than that?

MR. GORDON: No, because I don't really recall. It's not something I was responsible for, and I had so much I had to do that was not something I needed to be involved in.

MR. ROONEY: When did you first become aware of the hacking of John Podesta's emails?

MR. GORDON: Probably in the fall.

MR. ROONEY: When did you first become aware of the dumping of his emails?

MR. GORDON: In the fall.

MR. ROONEY: During the campaign in 2016, did you participate in

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the hacking, dumping, or transmission to any third party of any email stolen from the DNC, John Podesta, or any other person or entity?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. ROONEY: Did you collude, coordinate, or conspire with Russia on behalf of the Trump campaign?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. ROONEY: Are you aware of anybody that colluded, coordinated, or conspired with Russia on behalf of the Trump campaign?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. ROONEY: So your impressions that you wanted to have a better relationship with Russia or you thought that the Trump campaign should have that as part of their platform did not include any kind of coordination with the Russian Government to help facilitate that?

MR. GORDON: Right. There was no coordination or thought for coordination. The idea to have better relations with Russia was a Mr. Trump idea that I thought was reasonable to support.

MR. ROONEY: What's that?

MR. GORDON: Just to have better relations in general with Russia and reduce the hostility -- the Congressman brought out the tweet that I put about having better relations with Russia. And I think that's still a reasonable standpoint to have.

MR. ROONEY: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you want a break before we go for another round?

MR. GORDON: Yeah. I mean, was that part of the --

[REDACTED] That was the plan.

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[REDACTED] It's up to you, sir.

MR. ROONEY: Yeah. And coffee, whatever you want.

MR. GORDON: Yeah, I'll get another water, if you guys don't mind.

MR. ROONEY: No.

MR. GORDON: Thank you.

[Recess.]

[REDACTED] Mr. Swalwell, over to you.

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Gordon, did you say all the time you spent working for the Trump campaign you didn't get paid a dime?

MR. GORDON: That's correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And you worked for prior campaigns, Huckabee and Cain?

MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And you would agree that as far as the resources that all three of those campaigns had, Trump would rank number one?

MR. GORDON: That's right.

MR. SWALWELL: Personal wealth and the dollars raised?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you hope to go into the administration if the candidate was successful and you were a part of the team?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you asked to go into the administration?

MR. GORDON: I was asked by the deputy director of the presidential appointments team in December for my wish list of administration jobs, which I sent then.

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MR. SWALWELL: And what's the status of that today?

MR. GORDON: Well, since March it's just been destroyed because of the Trump/Russia issue.

MR. SWALWELL: What were the jobs that you were hoping to take?

MR. GORDON: There were a series of jobs that were in policy, in the Defense Department, and the State Department, mostly in policy but also in communications. I had served as a Pentagon spokesman for 4 years so I thought that I would be qualified for something.

MR. SWALWELL: And is it your hope that once this issue is resolved that you would again be considered?

MR. GORDON: I just see irreparable harm to me from the Trump/Russia hysteria, for lack of a better word. My name has been featured, so --

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. But let's talk about not getting paid. I mean, you put in, as you said, sometimes it felt like 100 hours a week. I mean, how do you feel like --

MR. GORDON: It didn't feel like. It was 100 hours a week.

MR. SWALWELL: But how does that make you feel then? You put all that work in and you didn't get a dime?

MR. GORDON: Not very good.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you told you were going to get paid?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who told you that?

MR. GORDON: Rick Dearborn.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you guys agree on an amount?

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MR. GORDON: No. There would be a budget in July after Mr. Trump won the nomination, is the way it was discussed. And I signed my NDA, so when it became official, that offer never came to pass. And in July when we got back from the convention, Rick said it's going to remain volunteer except for him, and the office disintegrated a few weeks later.

MR. SWALWELL: And can we assume you relied upon his promise that you'd be paid as you were making decisions about your finances and your future?

MR. GORDON: Absolutely. That said, the person who he had talked to about it was Corey Lewandowski who was the campaign manager and he was paid. He was fired in June. And so in July, Paul Manafort was then the campaign chairman. Paul was on the campaign for 6 months, but Paul was not getting paid either.

So if Paul worked 120 hours a week and had more responsibilities than I did, not by a lot, then his logic presumably was why should these guys get paid either. I didn't talk to him about that, but certainly it didn't go over well in our policy office.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, it was still a promise to you, right?

MR. GORDON: It was.

MR. SWALWELL: And the convention that you went to, how did you get there financially?

MR. GORDON: I rented a car and drove.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did you stay?

MR. GORDON: The first week I stayed at the Westin, Cleveland,

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for the platform week. And then for the actual GOP convention week I stayed at, I think it was a Super 8. I think it was about an hour west of Cleveland.

MR. SWALWELL: You had to pay for all that yourself?

MR. GORDON: I did, and the rental car.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you believe you'd be reimbursed eventually?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who told you that?

MR. GORDON: Rick Dearborn and John Mashburn.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you sought to be paid by the campaign, I mean, seeing the vast resources that they have?

MR. GORDON: Well, I asked for reimbursement several times in July. But then the Committee on Arrangements, which was in charge of the convention, disbanded and so the emails were nonfunctioning and the phone numbers they had given people were nonfunctioning. So I just decided that it was really not worth the time to pursue the rental car and the hotel.

MR. SWALWELL: How does that make you feel?

MR. GORDON: Well, not very good.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you turn down other jobs you could have taken because you were working for them?

MR. GORDON: Well, I certainly wasn't working, so --

MR. SWALWELL: You mentioned that no one told Don, Jr., no.

MR. GORDON: To my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. Because that would be your last day on the

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campaign, you said.

MR. GORDON: Most likely it would be, but like I said, I didn't have any knowledge of this until the minute I got out of the Senate Intel hearing that we were at, I guess it was the Friday before last.

MR. SWALWELL: So as you sit here today, are you afraid of these guys, like Don, Jr., Kushner, the President, that they could retaliate against you or make sure that you don't work in this town again?

MR. GORDON: Well, no, not directly. But I'm very careful about the NDA I signed to non-disparage the candidate, now the President, or anybody associated with it. The NDA was pretty extensive.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you believe that NDA extends to your testimony with us today?

MR. GORDON: Well, I don't think I'm disparaging him, so I would think that it does apply. The NDA always applies. But I wouldn't characterize it as disparaging him. I'm giving you facts right now.

MR. SWALWELL: I guess my question is, is there anything you're not telling us because you think the NDA trumps our jurisdiction?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: I want to talk about the convention. What was your role in planning the convention in Cleveland?

MR. GORDON: My role was to be the national security adviser for platform week and to do television during the actual GOP convention and to be one of the guest speakers at the Global Partners and Diplomacy, which was the week of convention, which was over 50 ambassadors and senior diplomats to the U.S., the U.S. State Department program that

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was paid for them, and they went out to Cleveland.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you discuss the Republican Party platform with Paul Manafort prior to the convention or after the convention?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: You never talked to Paul Manafort about the platform?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Tell me the people on the Trump campaign that you talked to about the Republican Party platform?

MR. GORDON: Rick Dearborn and John Mashburn and Stephen Miller.

MR. SWALWELL: Who's Clark Barrow?

MR. GORDON: One of the researchers I brought in. Clark was the debate prep coordinator and chief researcher for Herman Cain's campaign, so I invited him to the campaign and he came in.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you provide any direction to your team or to the Trump delegates prior to your work at the convention as far as what the platform would be?

MR. GORDON: I had a chance to markup the 2012 platform with pen and inks and then give those suggestions to John Mashburn, who was the policy director for a while in the office, came over from the Senate with Rick. He was chief of staff to Tillis.

So John took all the inputs on the pen and inks and he gave them to Clark and John Perdue, who was the other researcher I brought in, a friend of mine for many years, former senior fellow at a think tank I was with. So they kind of compiled everything over a series of a

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couple months, and then John Mashburn brought the whole inputs that we had, the whole package to the RNC for the actual writing.

MR. SWALWELL: I just want to understand. The most senior person on the Trump campaign that you talked to about the platform was Mr. Dearborn. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And to your knowledge, did he ever talk to Mr. Sessions about any discussions you guys had about the platform?

MR. GORDON: I don't believe he did.

MR. SWALWELL: Was anything ever relayed back to you that, hey, Mr. Sessions thinks this or Mr. Sessions thinks that?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you meet with -- yeah, go ahead.

MR. GORDON: One of the best ways to put it is we had a former Senator who joined our national security advisory team, a retired Senator from Georgia, maybe 80, late 70s, 80s.

MR. SWALWELL: Who is that?

MR. GORDON: Matt Mattingly. And Senator Mattingly called me when I was at the platform, and he said that the -- we were talking about platform issues and if he was aware. I was telling him some of the things we had done during that week, and he laughed and he said the platform is for worker bees. I said, yeah, yeah, it is.

And so that translated that thought process was the same that, I believe, Mr. Trump had and Paul Manafort had. They had no involvement in the actual platform.

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MR. SWALWELL: How about Carter Page? Did he have any involvement?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you receive any direction or guidance from any other senior officials on the campaign with respect to the platform?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Who was Steve Yates?

MR. GORDON: Steve Yates was the co-chair for the National Security Subcommittee for the GOP platform, and he worked in the Cheney -- Vice President Cheney's office as a foreign policy adviser. And I believe he was the State party chair for the Republicans in Idaho.

MR. SWALWELL: So I've looked at the platform and it's pretty extensive. Can you just walk me through like once you arrived in Cleveland, when is the first meeting that you have where you guys are talking about this platform, which looks like it's about 55 pages long?

MR. GORDON: Yeah. The first meeting was -- I believe it was Sunday night, which would have been, I believe, the 10th. It was a small huddle with our policy advisers who were going to be the representatives of the six different subcommittees and John Mashburn, where we had a chance to actually physically see what the RNC had written. I hadn't seen it before that either. I know I had inputs into it, but I hadn't seen it.

MR. SWALWELL: So you guys would meet for the next 2 weeks?

MR. GORDON: Sorry?

MR. SWALWELL: You would meet for the next 2 weeks leading up to

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the convention?

MR. GORDON: No, this was Sunday night, July 10. This was the night before the subcommittee. All the subcommittees were July 11.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. GORDON: Then the full committee with everyone was the 12th. And so the night before all the delegates got a chance to look at that. We all met and huddled, okay, review any sections, see if there's any amendments we need to make where there was a mistake, et cetera, and put them in. So I saw one there was an omission and I added it, had to do with -- something to do with Iran and terrorism.

MR. SWALWELL: How many meetings did you have about the platform?

MR. GORDON: Probably two in the Old Town office, weeks before the convention, weeks before platform week.

MR. SWALWELL: And are you familiar with what has become, you know, the issue around the Ukrainian -- a pro-Ukrainian amendment?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first become aware of a pro-Ukrainian amendment being offered at the convention?

MR. GORDON: That morning. It has actually turned my life upside down for 1 full year now, by the way, but that's --

MR. SWALWELL: And when you say that morning, are you talking about in July 2016?

MR. GORDON: Yes, I am. July 11 we had a -- that was the hearing, and I was assigned as the national security adviser to the subcommittee, and I was given a list of all the amendments as the delegates came in.

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Because the delegates had a chance to markup their copy the night before Sunday night as well and file amendments. So I had the chance to look through all the 55 amendments, roughly 55 amendments from that subcommittee.

[REDACTED] Five minutes, Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, are you familiar with -- well, actually, who originated the discussion of platform language regarding U.S. support to Ukraine? Which person?

MR. GORDON: Diana Denman was the author of the amendment, though she didn't speak up immediately about it. So I'm not sure if that's your question.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, where was that offered?

MR. GORDON: Her amendment was number 3 of roughly 55. And the process was, if we saw anything -- we, the policy representatives, saw anything that was directly contradictory to Mr. Trump's positions, we should flag it with the co-chair privately off to the side and tell the co-chair or one of the three cochairs this is an issue for the following reasons, X, Y, Z.

I did that via our political whip in the room, Matt Miller, who approached Steve Yates. Steve Yates came to the side table and asked me the question about amendment 3. I said, yes, this lethal defense of weapons is inconsistent with what Mr. Trump has said in the past.

So I don't want a story -- the press was right back in the gallery. It's a public event. I don't want the story to say GOP rebukes Trump on Ukraine, because then it would be my fault. I was trying to abide

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by the wishes of Mr. Trump based upon what he said at the March 31 meeting and his public statements.

So Steve Yates went back to the head table, talked to their co-chairs. Then he went to Diana Denman who was seated in sort of the back of the square table, sort of like this. He went to the back. He asked her privately to withdraw the amendment. I didn't hear them, but I know that that's what they were saying. She refused and then so he tabled it to the end. So he came back to me and said, okay, it's tabled to the end.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you make any phone calls during that period?

MR. GORDON: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Who did you call?

MR. GORDON: I called my policy colleagues, Rick Dearborn and John Mashburn.

MR. SWALWELL: What did you talk to them about, and what did they say?

MR. GORDON: I said there is an issue here with Ukraine, that one of the delegates wants to arm Ukraine, which is inconsistent with President Trump's statements, his world view. And they understood that. And I said and it's inconsistent with what President Obama is doing. And they said, okay, just handle it.

And I was on hold with them quite a bit. Diana Denman approached me and basically questioned me and the two Jones Day lawyers with me and Matt and she was quite demeaning in her questioning of us.

MR. SWALWELL: Would you say it's fair that you received

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authorization to object to this amendment from Mr. Dearborn?

MR. GORDON: No. I would say I informed him what I was doing because the issue was we would have to inform them if there was something that was going to make news or if he wanted to override it. It wasn't, can I do this. It was, I'm planning to do this. I just want you to know.

[REDACTED] You have a minute, Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: So, Mr. Rooney, you know, the platform issue has been, you know, I think an important part of, you know, this witness' testimony. I've got a bunch more questions on it. I'm happy to come back when we come back around, but I don't know if you'd like to just change this block to go through that.

MR. ROONEY: I have a couple based on yours. And I'm not going to take the whole 15 minutes, so then I'll just go back to you, if you don't mind.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. ROONEY: But I'm sort of -- so that -- is that --

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah. And I've got a 20-page email exchange, you know, about the platform.

MR. ROONEY: Yeah. I'm staying on the same subject so we'll just -- and then I'll kick it back to you.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. ROONEY: So this Denman woman that you had a confrontation with about the Ukraine amendment, do you know who she is and what her beef was with wanting to put this amendment in there?

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MR. GORDON: That's a great question. I met her at the GOP convention. There was a reception the evening before, Sunday night, Sunday evening before everybody went back to get a copy of the platform and to go through the draft. And she introduced herself to me and we said hi. But I didn't know her previously.

When she came up to me that morning, she challenged us, who are we, what is our problem with the free country, why are we even there, who are our names. She was extraordinarily condescending. She was 82. But since she's 82, I didn't want to be rude or mean to her.

I don't want to be rude or mean to anyone, particularly someone that's 82 and coming up to you and just reading you the riot act. I've worked with think tanks and politics for a while and, you know, you don't want treat anybody --

MR. ROONEY: You're getting an idea of what it's like to be a Congressman in that situation.

MR. GORDON: I feel your pain.

MR. ROONEY: Yeah.

MR. GORDON: I feel your pain. It was pretty unpleasant. So I tried to make it go away nicely.

The problem was -- and I have no idea why she felt the way she did. She did tell me during that conversation that she had been to Ukraine, that she had been an election monitor with a think tank, I think it was IRI, perhaps; that she had a lot of friends in Ukraine and she just got back from there recently.

And she said that we need to arm Ukraine. And so I was curious

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why does it mean so much to her that not just to fight with us and to really, really be so aggressive with us, but why afterwards she would go out to the media and then say lies about me, which she did.

She said that J.D. Gordon told me he was talking to Mr. Trump on the phone, which is a flat-out lie. But she was doing it. And then the media reporting that, Time magazine, others, that J.D. Gordon said he was talking to Mr. Trump, which was ridiculous. Why would I say that if I have two Jones Day lawyers here and the political whip here? But she made it up.

So trying to be polite, I would tell the press -- and I didn't want to get into the all the guts of the platform, but I did want to say that Ms. Denman's memory of events is inaccurate. And I left it at that.

But then later on when more stories come out about the platform, some media accused me of changing my story, blogs, TPM, Business Insider, which is false. I never changed my story for anything. But that's how, as you guys know, the media works. They just want to character assassinate you by conducting -- by comparing interviews on one place to the other.

So I just quit during interviews about the platform. It's just not worth my time to do because then people say, oh, you changed your story again.

MR. ROONEY: So we had this 82-year-old woman from Texas who offers this amendment about the Ukraine that's contradictory to what Trump has said previously with regard to the Ukraine and Russia.

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Somebody asks her to withdraw it. She says no. She confronts you and then starts bad mouthing you on television or --

MR. GORDON: Not television, print reporters.

MR. ROONEY: Print reporters. But we don't have any --

MR. GORDON: And NPR.

MR. ROONEY: But we don't have any idea who she is or what her motivations were, aside from she was a poll watcher in the Ukraine at some point?

MR. GORDON: Well, and she told me that she had been involved in Republican circles for a while in Texas. She was a Cruze delegate. But the other thing is it wasn't the Denman campaign either, so --

MR. ROONEY: How did this get resolved?

MR. GORDON: It got resolved where at the end -- I mentioned it was tabled to the end. There was a debate, and some of my colleagues came in the room for the last debate, Rick Dearborn, John Mashburn.

MR. ROONEY: Were you in that debate?

MR. GORDON: No. No. We weren't participating in the debate. We were off to the side. But they came into witness it. Steve Yates held the debate and basically came up with appropriate assistance to replace lethal defense of weapons, because Diana Denman wanted lethal defense of weapons.

She had a very lengthy amendment, most of which or a lot of which was incorporated into the GOP platform to make it stronger against Russia. So because of her amendment, even though three words were stricken, lethal defense of weapons, appropriate assistance was

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inserted.

But it's an entire myth that the GOP platform was either changed or weakened. What happened was there was a draft platform and one amendment didn't get in in its entirety, minus three words. So there was this canard out there that the GOP -- it's a myth. It's an urban legend that the Trump campaign changed the platform. Which just wasn't the case. It was false.

MR. ROONEY: I'm just curious, as a Republican, what is the language of our party platform with regard to Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: It's pretty strong.

MR. ROONEY: I'm not reading that.

MR. GORDON: Mr. Swalwell has it. It says we should think about increasing -- we should have more sanctions essentially against Russia. It did make a very passionate plea for Ukraine, for helping, assisting them. But it just falls short of arming them. And it's stronger, by the way, than the DNC platform against Russia.

MR. ROONEY: What exactly did Trump say prior to this that was sort of contradictory to that?

MR. GORDON: He said he didn't want World War III of Ukraine. Personally, at that meeting that I mentioned, the March 31 one, and he said that on the campaign trail that he didn't want World War III over Ukraine. So, I mean, that's enough for me to understand, okay, well, that's not consistent with arming Ukraine.

MR. ROONEY: So as a result of this debate, we just took out those three words and then we moved on?

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MR. GORDON: Yes, eventually. Yeah, took out three and added two, added appropriate assistance in lieu of lethal defense of weapons.

MR. ROONEY: And then she had this statement in the Washington Examiner that the platform ended up tougher than it started because of -- with respect to the Ukraine because of this amendment even without those words. Do you agree with that?

MR. GORDON: Yes, it was tougher against Russia.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. All right.

MR. GORDON: Which was fine with me. We don't mind being tough on Russia. We just didn't want to arm Ukraine.

MR. ROONEY: Right. Can you tell me about the Global Partners in Diplomacy?

MR. GORDON: Absolutely. There was a U.S. State Department program called Global Partners in Diplomacy advertises 80 ambassadors and ended up being over 50, not the whole 80. But it was a 4-day program where the State Department paid for the transportation and trips for these ambassadors to go out to Cleveland for 4 days of meetings and receptions and then observing the convention. And so I was one of the guest speakers on the panel.

MR. ROONEY: This is the Case Western Reserve University panel?

MR. GORDON: Correct. On the third day, because it was 3 days. The third day was July 20. I spoke on a panel about Trump's national security and foreign policy. And the Russian ambassador was one of the people there. The Ukrainian ambassador was one of the people there.

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MR. ROONEY: Did you meet the ambassador?

MR. GORDON: I did. After my speech I left the stage and about a dozen ambassadors came up and senior diplomats and shook a lot of hands and some of them gave me cards.

MR. ROONEY: Did you have any extensive interaction with Kislyak?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. ROONEY: Was there any other Russian Government representatives there besides him?

MR. GORDON: Not to my knowledge.

MR. ROONEY: Did you attend a networking reception at Jones Day on July 20?

MR. GORDON: I did.

MR. ROONEY: Did you see him there as well?

MR. GORDON: I did.

MR. ROONEY: And what was that interaction like?

MR. GORDON: Towards the end of the reception -- and I had chatted with dozens of ambassadors at both, when I left the stage shaking hands and greeting people. Senator Sessions had the same at Jones Day -- I'm sorry, at the Case Western Reserve after his lunchtime keynote speech.

At the networking reception, towards the end I didn't eat anything, that I recall, so I went over to grab some chicken satays. And I saw who came over, Ambassador Kislyak, to grab chicken satays at the same time. He was in my vicinity. So I said, Ambassador, good to see you again. I had just met him for the first time that morning.

And so I said, do you want to go eat these? He says, yeah. So

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we walk over to a table that has space because there were these tall round tables where there were drinks and food. I mean not food, you'd bring the food, of course. So we were eating chicken satays for probably 3 minutes or so.

And the other people at the table were the ambassador from Azerbaijan, the ambassador from Kazakhstan, and Carter Page. So I said that when I started eating my chicken satay that we should have better relations with Russia. We meant everything we said, that I said today, what Senator Sessions said today.

I said, for instance, the Boston marathon bombing was horrific. I said we got a heads-up from the Russian Government that Tamerlan Tsarnaev was Jihadi. He was training in Dagestan. He should have been deported once he got here or arrested.

But instead he radicalized his younger brother Djokhaar, and we had the Boston marathon bombing. It was horrific. We should have better cooperation in countering these radical groups and he agreed.

MR. ROONEY: And was that it?

MR. GORDON: That was it. I spoke -- I'm speaking quickly now because I know you have limited time.

MR. ROONEY: Yeah, thank you.

MR. GORDON: But in the time between eating chicken satays and him eating his, that was all we had time for at the reception.

MR. ROONEY: So those two meetings with Kislyak were your only two with him?

MR. GORDON: I'd call them encounters, but yes.

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MR. ROONEY: Yeah, all right. Well, yeah.

Let me talk about really quick this dossier that states, "In return for Russian Government providing the fruits of attacking efforts to WikiLeaks, the Trump team agreed to sideline Russian intervention in Ukraine as a campaign issue and to raise defense commitments in the Baltics and Eastern Europe."

So that's what it says in the dossier. To the best of your knowledge, did the Trump campaign engage in this kind of quid pro quo?

MR. GORDON: No. It's fiction.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. Why -- have you heard that before? Have you heard that allegation before? I mean, did you see that in the dossier?

MR. GORDON: When I read the dossier. I thought it was entire fiction. And, in fact, I went on TV program that day about other things. I was a commentator for all sorts of national security and foreign policy issues. And I said I know the dossier's false because it says that Carter Page went to Russia on behalf of the campaign. And I said, I know from my own perspective that that's false. He was on his own over there, and it wasn't even a good idea to go. But he certainly wasn't representing the campaign.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. Before the Russian hacking of the DNC and Podesta emails became public, what was the position of the Trump campaign with regard to the Ukraine? Was it -- you said before that, you know, the U.S. or Trump wasn't willing to get into World War III over Ukraine. Was that basically the position? I mean, was there anything more extensive than that before the whole Denman amendment

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thing came up?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. ROONEY: Nothing more specific?

MR. GORDON: No. The idea was to have better relations with Russia, not to arm Ukraine because that's not consistent with better relations with Russia.

MR. ROONEY: Did you have something specific with regard or the Trump campaign with regard to the defense commitments in the Baltics and Eastern Europe?

MR. GORDON: In the platform?

MR. ROONEY: Yeah.

MR. GORDON: I believe there was something like that in there. It's 15 pages. Congressman Swalwell has it here. I don't recall every passage in there.

MR. ROONEY: I'm just asking with regard to my last question, when the dossier says the Trump team agrees to sideline Russian intervention in Ukraine as a campaign issue and to raise defense commitments in the Baltics.

MR. GORDON: Yeah, that's not something we stood for in the campaign. I think we did support the Baltics platform. It's fiction. The dossier is fiction.

MR. ROONEY: Did the Trump campaign's policy position with respect to Ukraine and/or defense commitments in the Baltics change after WikiLeaks began publishing the hacked material, to your knowledge?

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MR. GORDON: No. And I was not on the campaign at that point. I had left August 10. So --

MR. ROONEY: So with regard to the dossier, you don't see evidence of the quid pro quo that --

MR. GORDON: No, not at all.

MR. ROONEY: Okay. Eric.

MR. SWALWELL: Thanks, Tom.

Who suggested "appropriate assistance" as a phrase?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall at the time. It did come up in the platform discussions between me and Steve Yates, but I don't recall exactly who did that.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you present when delegates voted on the final language?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Has President Trump ever said anything to you or anyone that you're aware of that made you believe the Denman amendment would be unacceptable to him?

MR. GORDON: No. But I knew what his position was, and my job was to look after his positions, what we were told to do as the policy advisers in those subcommittees. There were several other amendments which I had a problem with, but they didn't rise to the level of something some would call a red line. We didn't use the term "red line," but something that was seriously going to rebuke him.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you tell President Trump about the final language?

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MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Who was the most senior person you told?

MR. GORDON: Rick Dearborn, who was in the room for the final vote, so he was aware of what was going on.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, did you anticipate that there might be a fight or a showdown about platform language ahead of the convention?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Why?

MR. GORDON: Because we knew a lot of the delegates wanted to try to strip Mr. Trump of delegates and try to block his nomination. There were even high-profile instances you probably recall of some of the delegates, Ken Cuccinelli for instance, throwing his credentials to the floor of the GOP convention.

So we had a problem with a lot of the delegates. The Rules Committee tried to strip Trump from the ability to get nominated, so we did expect there were going to be problems from delegates.

MR. SWALWELL: I want to show you Bates stamp 1057 from the Trump campaign emails, a June 10 email exchange. It's actually a full month before you arrive in Cleveland, and you identify to Mash, who I believe is John Mashburn --

MR. GORDON: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: -- three main differences from Mr. Trump's foreign policy positions and the GOP foreign policy positions. And is this an accurate email?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

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MR. SWALWELL: And would you agree that in this email you identify a number of times the difference particularly with providing training and assistance to east European member states to strengthen the alliance's deterrent on its frontier. That's what you believe the House GOP plan was calling for and then you contrasted that to what Mr. Trump has said?

MR. GORDON: Yeah. I was asked to go through line by line to compare and contrast the House GOP policy platforms with statements Mr. Trump had said.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, did anyone on the campaign talk to you about this being -- the GOP plan being at odds with Mr. Trump's beliefs?

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[1:17 p.m.]

MR. GORDON: Well, the press was reporting that. And so our task was to go through line by line, me and our research assistants, and see what the differences were so we could articulate that there really was not that much daylight.

MR. SWALWELL: How did Carter Page get a hold of Corey Lewandowski to go to Moscow?

MR. GORDON: I read media reports --

MR. SWALWELL: To your knowledge, how did he get through?

MR. GORDON: From Carter to Corey?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. GORDON: Well, he had his email address. So he emailed him and Hope Hicks, and he copied me.

MR. SWALWELL: When you said earlier that Carter Page didn't have access to President Trump or any senior members, you mean, to your knowledge, he didn't have access?

MR. GORDON: He didn't have direct access, to my knowledge, other than that one email that I'm aware of. Other than that, I don't have any knowledge that he had access or actual face time. So the email's a bit different. Yes, that's access, but certainly not any type of meeting, dialogue, brief.

MR. SWALWELL: But you would agree that if he was willing to go around you to talk to Corey Lewandowski to go to Russia that there could have been a number of contacts that he had with the President, his family, or senior campaign officials that you don't know about?

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MR. GORDON: In theory, yes. But I don't believe that's the case. Mr. Trump never met with him. Why would he?

MR. SWALWELL: But that's just to your knowledge.

MR. GORDON: To my knowledge, for sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Who on the Trump campaign knew of Carter's trip to Moscow?

MR. GORDON: I did. Hope Hicks did. Corey Lewandowski did. And I believe Mash did as well.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Mr. Dearborn?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall if he knew or not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did anyone express any concern about Mr. Page's travel, other than you?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall if anyone did. Carter Page was viewed as a person who was very periphery.

MR. SWALWELL: So why did you keep him around?

MR. GORDON: Well, if you fire him then possibly he would go to the press and say, hey, this is just a sham, this is not a real organization, which was the big fear we had, saying it now, not to disparage anyone. But we didn't want people to go rogue, so to speak.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he provide any written product summarizing the trip?

MR. GORDON: No, not to me, not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: When did his affiliation with the campaign end?

MR. GORDON: From what I read in the media, in September.

MR. SWALWELL: How about as far as just your knowledge?

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MR. GORDON: September.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Do you know why?

MR. GORDON: Yes. He had been continuing to get bad press over his trip to Russia and some of the statements he had made previously. And so the communications team, Hope Hicks and Kellyanne Conway and others, started to distance themselves. And eventually, my understanding is that the campaign sent him a cease and desist letter about even affiliating with the campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Heck.

MR. HECK: Thank you.

Mr. Gordon, I want to reiterate and add my expression of gratitude, both for your service to country as well as your presence here today.

MR. GORDON: Thank you, Congressman.

MR. HECK: I want to go back to the beginning and better understand the circumstances surrounding your joining the Trump campaign. Who reached out to whom, and describe that for us a little bit, if you would, please.

MR. GORDON: About a month after Governor Huckabee left the race after Iowa, around February 1st or so, I joined the campaign with Sarah Huckabee Sanders and three others, a month or so after I talked to Sarah.

MR. HECK: Who contacted whom?

MR. GORDON: I contacted Sarah.

MR. HECK: She had already been hired?

MR. GORDON: Yes. She was already with the campaign. And I

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asked her about a strategy. We talked a little bit about it. I endorsed Mr. Trump, and the Hill wrote an article about it. And then I sent that article to Senator Sessions, and I asked if he would like my help. That we both endorsed him within a few days of each other, I think he's going to win the nomination. And then Senator Sessions called me on the phone the next day and he says, can you come by the office? And I said, yes, sir, I will. And I was there the next day. We had a very productive meeting. And that was in early March.

MR. HECK: The office in this case was which?

MR. GORDON: At his Senate office.

MR. HECK: And did he specifically offer you employment in that meeting?

MR. GORDON: I wouldn't say employment. I would just say a role to help get Mr. Trump elected. That's not necessarily employment.

MR. HECK: At some point, however, there was an understanding that you would be paid. Who was it that advanced that to you?

MR. GORDON: That was Rick Dearborn, the chief of staff, who would eventually run the office in D.C., which was established about a month after my first meeting with Senator Sessions. He and I had talked about establishing a Washington, D.C. office, Senator Sessions and I. And the person who got to run that was his chief of staff in a dual hat arrangement, where Rick would be in the Senate half a day and the office half a day.

MR. HECK: And there was no memorialization of your employment?

MR. GORDON: No. There was nothing on paper.

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MR. HECK: The only thing you had was a verbal contract?

MR. GORDON: Correct.

MR. HECK: And you were a direct report to?

MR. GORDON: Several people. Senator Sessions for the advisory committee and the meetings we did together; Rick Dearborn for the Washington, D.C. office, which I was a member; and John Mashburn for -- who was the policy director; and Stephen Miller, who was the policy adviser. So I had to report to all four. I was accountable to all four people.

MR. HECK: In addition to the Mayflower speech, which you earlier indicated you had input on, were you responsible for drafting any other speeches for President Trump?

MR. GORDON: Yes. The GOP Convention acceptance speech.

MR. HECK: What was the nature of your input?

MR. GORDON: It was coming up with a top ten list of times President Obama had been snubbed by world leaders, things of that nature.

MR. HECK: Is that the only instance?

MR. GORDON: Well, another major one was rebuttal to a Hillary Clinton speech about national security. So I had a lot of input for that, which was on a shared computer that we all used, with our interns making the inputs. Basically, on giant reams of paper printed out and a lot of pen and inks and our intern just typing everything in for a speech, with a lot of fact checking.

MR. HECK: When did you first meet President Trump?

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MR. GORDON: March 31st of 2016 at that meeting at the Old Post Office.

MR. HECK: The meeting of the committee?

MR. GORDON: Yes, the one that Congressman Swalwell --

MR. HECK: That's the first time you met him?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. HECK: And I thought I heard you say earlier you've meet him twice?

MR. GORDON: I did. The second time was in June at Trump Tower.

MR. HECK: And those are the only times you met or spoke with him?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. HECK: Did you know Senator Sessions prior to his reaching out to you?

MR. GORDON: I had met him, but I hadn't known him well. And I had Rick on my column Distro List for the Washington Times and Fox News and the Hill. And so Rick sent my columns to the Senator periodically over the years. So they were familiar with me.

MR. HECK: What was the circumstance under which you first met Senator Sessions?

MR. GORDON: I think when I left the Pentagon in 2009, I was -- I had meetings on the Hill. I was looking to possibly work in the Senate, and one of the people I met with was Rick Dearborn.

MR. HECK: And you met Senator Sessions during that --

MR. GORDON: I seem to recall, yeah, meeting him then.

MR. HECK: Did you know Paul Manafort prior to his joining the

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campaign?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. HECK: How would you describe the relationship you had with Mr. Manafort?

MR. GORDON: Very cordial and very brief. I spoke with him for a minute or two at the Washington, D.C., office where -- he was nominally in charge of the whole office. Rick Dearborn was in charge of policy and congressional, but Paul Manafort was in charge of everything at the Old Town office on Washington Boulevard. And I said, hi, how are you? He said, hi, how are you?

MR. HECK: Was that the only time you ever spoke to him?

MR. GORDON: The first time, and it was a minute or two pleasantry. The second time was at Trump Tower in early June, and I also had a similar exchange with him there. It was a briefing for Mr. Trump and business leaders. And I also greeted him. He said hello. We greeted each other. That's the only time I've ever saw him or met with him. They're not really meetings. They're more like encounters. Hi, how are you?

MR. HECK: How were you informed of your departure on August 10th?

MR. GORDON: How did I inform the --

MR. HECK: How were you informed that you would be departing?

MR. GORDON: How was I -- no, I informed them I would be departing.

MR. HECK: You voluntarily left?

MR. GORDON: Yes. I turned in my badge, my building access, and

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I sent a text message to Rick Dearborn and one text message to John Mashburn. I said, good luck, guys.

MR. HECK: Did either respond?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. HECK: What did they say?

MR. GORDON: Rick talked to the Senator about it, who called me at home that night. And he said, how do we fix this? And I told him, well, when I get a check, I'll go back. And so they offered me a position on the transition team. And I said, okay, that's great, and then I'll start working when I get the first check. John Mashburn basically said, same boat, I'm in the same boat as you, I understand. They were very cordial and collegial.

MR. HECK: Have you maintained contact with any of the members of the Trump campaign, the transition, the White House, or the Trump administration since your departure from the campaign?

MR. GORDON: Very few people.

MR. HECK: Who?

MR. GORDON: Walid Phares, I'm still in touch with him. Joe Schmitz, who was on our National Security Advisory Committee, I see him from time to time at diplomatic events. There are various people, but none of the people that you see in the media.

MR. HECK: How often --

MR. GORDON: Sarah Huckabee Sanders. Yeah, so that's a person in the media.

MR. HECK: You have maintained contact with Sarah --

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MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. HECK: -- Huckabee Sanders?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. HECK: How often do you think you have spoken with Sarah Huckabee Sanders since August 10th?

MR. GORDON: Not often. Maybe every couple of months or something.

MR. HECK: What is your means of communication?

MR. GORDON: Phone calls. I think the last time we spoke was in early March, so I could explain to her the circumstances of the USA Today story that came out saying two more Trump advisers met with Russian official.

MR. HECK: Did you have any role in the Trump transition?

MR. GORDON: Ultimately, no, because I never got a check so I never went. So nominally, I was, but that was officially terminated when there was a shakeup in the transition for the first week and a lot of people who were working on foreign policy/national security were dismissed. Governor Christie, of course, was at the top. Then Mike Rogers had been put in charge of -- Mike Rogers, former Congressman on Intel Committee, he was let go. And then people under him were let go, and I was on one of those lists under those people.

MR. HECK: Back to the formation of the committee. How were the members identified and brought into the Trump campaign?

MR. GORDON: Sam Clovis came up with a list of eight, so I'm not sure where he got those. There's been news reports from people like

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Roz Helderman at The Washington Post. She gets a lot of classified information. I don't know how. But her sources are usually pretty good, I've found. And she's called me a number of times to ask things about Carter, et cetera.

So when I see the things that I have told her that they're portrayed accurately, I tend to trust what she's writing. They've even did a correction, Roz did, on one of her stories about the GOP platform. A lot of people get it wrong, because if they read other sources they're going to get it wrong most of the time. But I don't actually know why and how Sam got those eight. For the rest --

MR. HECK: To whom did he submit them?

[REDACTED] You have one minute, Mr. Heck.

MR. GORDON: He gave them either to Corey Lewandowski or Stephen Miller, I don't know. But Senator Sessions and I filled out the rest of the people, the rest of the roughly seven.

MR. HECK: Who had final approval authority as to the members?

MR. GORDON: Well, Sam for the initial eight, because Mr. Trump announced them. Then after that, it was only Senator Sessions who could add or delete people.

MR. HECK: How was the committee's work shared with President Trump or other high-level campaign officials outside the one meeting you had?

MR. GORDON: That was it. It was the one meeting. And then we had dinners periodically. And some people would send in policy papers or news articles or draft op-eds. There was no formal structure other

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than me listening to them. And they wanted access to Mr. Trump, which was not going to be happening any time soon. And so my job was to try to ensure that they were not unhappy and go away to the press and saying that this is all for show, at the same time trying to take anything that was valuable or helpful and sending it up the chain.

MR. HECK: Thank you.

MR. ROONEY: Guys, we have votes at 1:25 or so, it looks like. 1:25 to 1:40, approximately. This is from Scalise's office. I only have one more question, then I'm going to turn it back over to you. After that, when we go back up there, it looks like we have four suspensions. So I don't know how long that's going to take.

But with regard to coming back, you know, between staff and your attorneys, how and where, because I don't know if this room is available so I'll leave that up to you guys to work out. But I just have one question. I'm going to turn it over to you. We haven't started voting yet, so then you can go as long as you need.

My last question deals with you personally, and that is something that you said earlier with regard to whether or not you could -- we all sort of do -- and we know people that, you know -- and we've all met people in this universe that we all play in up here inside the beltway where maybe if I hook up with a campaign I'll be able to get a job at the Pentagon or in the State Department. I get that.

And certainly, you would fall under that same umbrella as you said, but then you talked about being -- or that the Trump administration now would be worried about possibly giving you a job

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because of your role with Russia.

I'm a little bit confused as to what your role with Russia is other than just helping advise on the policy and the platform that, as Trump himself said and what you were echoing even, trying to beat back this language in the Denman amendment, what was your role that was so toxic with regard to Russia that would preclude you from being able to actively seek a role in the administration?

MR. GORDON: Congressman, that's a great question. There was none. I feel like the character in the Green Mile, put on death row by the media, by people in Congress even, saying things that aren't true about me. And it's been a tragedy, in my view. Here's a guy who spent 20 years in uniform I thought defending the country and trying to do the right thing. Because I was on a presidential campaign that said things that ultimately weren't true -- Hope Hicks was the person saying that, hey, there were no contacts with Russians. I didn't say that, but yet I got put on basically a death row in the public.

And so the Trump administration is very averse to giving people jobs that have bad press about them. So I've been basically destroyed, I think, personally in the media and in the public perception. I might as well be on an America's most wanted poster.

Now, it reached a peak in March, with the March 20th hearing, where my name was mentioned four times and sometimes in statements that weren't accurate. So I feel I've been put sort of like in an America's most wanted position unjustifiably.

MR. ROONEY: What were those inaccurate statements?

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MR. GORDON: That I gave Carter Page permission to go to Russia, which was read in the opening statement by the ranking member.

MR. ROONEY: And you said today that wasn't true.

MR. GORDON: It was not true.

MR. ROONEY: And your other two Russian interactions were with Kislyak on the 20th of July at the Case Western thing and at the reception?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. ROONEY: Eating the chicken things.

MR. GORDON: Chicken satays. Chicken on a stick.

MR. ROONEY: And that is the whole of your involvement with Russia other than just echoing what Trump said himself, that you feel like it's precluding you from getting a job in the administration?

MR. GORDON: Yes, sir. Diana Denman I think has been on a personal mission to destroy me for whatever reason, because she really wants to arm Ukraine. I don't know what that's about, but it's probably worth looking into. And a lot of press are out to destroy me too, or have been.

It's improved a lot, but March was -- as my attorney can tell you, when I first walked in right after the hearing, it was not a good time for me. I feel like I was really savaged. It was not a good time for me. But things have backed off. It's clear there's been so much new information that's come out about whether it's Jared or Michael Flynn or Manafort. There's just so many other actual news that I've really fell down the chain.

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I had about a one-hour conversation I would like to tell you about with the CNN bureau chief here, because they also falsely accused me of something just a week and a half ago. They put my name in a graphic. There are seven people from the Trump campaign who hid or lied about their meetings with Russians, and my name and picture was right there. And I had to call Sam Fise, who I've known for many years, say, Sam, this is wrong. You guys have to fix this. I never said I never met with any Russians. That's media spin.

So he consulted with his staff and the leadership of CNN for a day, got back to me, an hour call and then the next day about a half hour. He said, we can either issue an on-air retraction from CNN, but then it's going to be fake news and you and I are going to lose control of the narrative, or we can go back online and cut that section out of the video. I said, all right, just go online. I don't want to fight with CNN. I don't want to fight with Congress. I just want to live my life and move on. But I think my political career is certainly destroyed as long as President Trump's in office.

MR. ROONEY: Thank you. Eric.

MR. SCHIFF: Thank you for coming in.

MR. GORDON: Thank you.

MR. SCHIFF: Let me start with the platform. The issue of whether to provide lethal support to Ukraine wasn't a trivial issue, was it?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SCHIFF: You were aware in Congress we were debating about

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whether to go beyond the nonlethal assistance to provide defensive arms to Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And there were many of us, John McCain, Steny Hoyer, myself and others who were advocating that we move to provide defensive weapons to Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: I didn't know your personal position, but I knew that Congress was talking about it, sure. And I knew Senator McCain's position.

MR. SCHIFF: The difference between appropriate assistance, which arguably was what the Obama administration was providing, and lethal assistance was a significant potential difference?

MR. GORDON: Yeah, that's a difference, significant difference.

MR. SCHIFF: Before the -- so before you got a copy of the platform the first time and were responsible for going through it to find out what might be inconsistent with the President's position, had any of the campaign personnel, any of your superiors on the campaign discussed with you areas that they anticipated may be a problem for the campaign?

MR. GORDON: No. It was the opposite. The policy advisers for the different subcommittees were supposed to raise the issues with Rick Dearborn and John Mashburn if there was something that we thought that could be a problem moving forward.

MR. SCHIFF: So prior to -- the RNC was charged with doing the first draft of the --

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MR. GORDON: That's right, with campaign inputs.

MR. SCHIFF: And you were giving input to the RNC about what you'd like to see in it?

MR. GORDON: Correct, via John Mashburn, who was the one who combined all the six different policy advisers' pen and inks and physically brought a stack of papers over to the RNC.

MR. SCHIFF: And do you know who would have weighed in with Mr. Mashburn about what others might want to see or not see in the platform?

MR. GORDON: My only perspective was mine and my other policy advisers. And I wasn't getting into what they were doing for the economy, for instance, or Constitution, because I didn't have the time or I didn't want people to think I was messing with their turf, so to speak. So really, I only had a limited view of just the national security piece.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know whether Mr. Manafort had any role, for example, in providing feedback to others on the campaign that would have been provided to the RNC as to what would go into the platform on Russia or Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: Not to my knowledge. Like I mentioned, Mac Mattingly's comment to me where he laughed and said, the platform's for worker bees, I really think that's true. There was a Senator there, of course, Senator Barrasso, who was in charge of the whole platform. But apart from him, this was really at the working level. Paul Manafort did not get into the details of policy, to my knowledge, nor anything

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specific with the platform, nor did Mr. Trump.

MR. SCHIFF: And in your feedback to the RNC, did you give any input as to what you thought should be the language vis-à-vis Ukraine?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall doing that with Ukraine. Remember, for the 2012 platform, Russia was not in Ukraine at the time. So there was no issue about arming Ukraine for the thing I was marking up. So the thing I recall putting about is just having better relations with Russia.

This wasn't like I would write down a whole memo and they put it in. It wasn't like that. It's just general generic thoughts, like we should get tougher on radical Islamic terror groups. We ought to make our NATO allies pay their fair share, the 2 percent of GDP. We should have better relations with Russia. It was very 30,000 foot view I would say, from a strategic level.

MR. SCHIFF: When you got the copy of the platform and went through it, was there anything that concerned you about the language on Ukraine or Russia?

MR. GORDON: When I saw the draft, no.

MR. SCHIFF: And did anyone, Mr. Dearborn or others, weigh in with you prior to the convention to discuss problems they anticipated on the Russia-Ukraine issue?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SCHIFF: So the first inkling that you had that there would be any discussion or debate was when you saw the list of amendments and saw the amendment from Ms. Denman on lethal assistance?

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MR. GORDON: I think I've said it before, and I believe I have mentioned it, that I had told John Mashburn in a meeting that here are some of the things for national security to look out for: Daylight between Speaker Ryan's plan, Mr. Trump's policy statements. But we didn't talk, to my recollection, about lethal defensive weapons or that phrase. It's just that the overarching thing was that we need to make sure we have better relations with Russia.

And most of our meetings about the platform was logistics. Who's flying? Who's getting a rental car? Who's staying where? Who's actually going to be in which meeting? Because we actually didn't have the six policy advisers. We had to borrow a couple people that had worked for Senator Sessions in the past for other groups. So it was more of a logistics meeting. Very little was discussed in the way of actual policy.

MR. SCHIFF: So it first came to your attention, though, that this would be an issue then when you saw the proposed amendments and that number 3 was one dealing with lethal assistance?

MR. GORDON: Well, I immediately knew then it was obviously a problem, because prior to that it could have been a problem, but it wasn't really on our scope to be on the lookout for other than avoiding things that would directly challenge Mr. Trump. And so the first time, yes, that I actually concrete saw, okay, you're going to have a problem was that morning of July 11th.

MR. SCHIFF: And you then informed the, is it the party whip, that you thought it would be a problem?

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MR. GORDON: I informed the party whip to please go and get the co-chair and have him come over, talk about it. Because the structure was me and the two Jones Day lawyers weren't supposed to move around the room or speak publicly, but the political whip could move around the room. So he came to get Yates, who came to me.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you express your opposition to the amendment?

MR. GORDON: Yes. I told Steve Yates that this particular part of the amendment, lethal offensive weapons, is inconsistent with Mr. Trump's views and it's going to be a problem, so do you think the delegate might withdraw it or at least table it so I can call my colleague, let him know we may have a situation. Because if it gets adopted, you know, the vote can go in a minute at these things. And then next thing you know, there are media in the galley and there were public people there. There were people, members of the public there. And then it's too late and then you've lost. So that's why the delay was.

MR. SCHIFF: And you discussed it, as you mentioned, with Ms. Denman. Did she ultimately agree to change the amendment, or was it necessary to accept essentially whip members of the party who would vote on the platform?

MR. GORDON: Yes. That is correct. She did not agree to change anything. She only agreed to table it until the end. But she still wanted the amendment to go in there with lethal offensive weapons. And when the other delegates voted against that and to use appropriate assistance instead, she went out to the media, like The Washington Post,

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and started talking about it.

MR. SCHIFF: And did you or the others on the campaign interact and whip the delegates to vote against the amendment?

MR. GORDON: That was the thought to do, but it really wasn't necessary, because the basic whip function was just between Matt Miller, who was the political whip, and Steve Yates. So, in theory, the political whip could have gone around the table, but he didn't do that. So Steve Yates agreed that obviously this is counter to what the nominee, the presumptive nominee wants. So it really wasn't that complicated. It just got complicated because of Ms. Denman.

MR. SCHIFF: It was communicated, though, that the campaign opposed the amendment?

MR. GORDON: It's true, that part of the amendment, the lethal offensive weapons that's true.

MR. SCHIFF: There was some reporting at the time that the campaign denied that it opposed the amendment. Did you see that report?

MR. GORDON: I did see the reporting.

MR. SCHIFF: And did, in fact, representatives of the campaign, yourself or others, tell the press that, in fact, you did not oppose the amendment?

MR. GORDON: No, that's not what I had said. What I had said to the press is, Ms. Denman's memory of events is inaccurate. And I was specifically referring to the fact that she was going around and telling the press print reporters that J.D. Gordon told me that I was talking

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to Mr. Trump on the phone, which is a false statement.

MR. SCHIFF: Now, was she saying that the Trump campaign had opposed her amendment?

MR. GORDON: Yes, she said that too.

MR. SCHIFF: And that I'm trying to understand, are you saying then that because she was saying the Trump campaign opposed the amendment and you were saying that her memory was inaccurate, that gave the impression you were saying that her statement about the opposition to the campaign was inaccurate when you were referring to something else?

MR. GORDON: I made it clear to reporters what I was talking about, but reporters don't always report exactly the intent you say. They pick and choose pieces of what you say. So the mosaic out there was J.D. Gordon just said her memory's wrong and he's not right. I mean, that's kind of the sense in the media reports, which is unfortunate.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you tell reporters that the campaign opposed the amendment?

MR. GORDON: No, no, I never told the reporters that we oppose the amendment. I just told reporters that her memory is inaccurate, and she was going around telling people that I spoke to Mr. Trump on the phone. And she tried to make it a very sinister thing, that Trump's on the phone with this guy in the room, and it was just blown out of proportion.

MR. SCHIFF: Was she also saying, though, that the campaign had

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opposed the amendment?

MR. GORDON: She did say that too.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know whether, apart from you and Mr. Mashburn or Mr. Dearborn, any other campaign officials were aware of the debate over the amendment while it was taking place?

MR. GORDON: Yes. The person in charge of our political whips. So the person that Matt Miller had been reporting to, he came in the room as well.

MR. SCHIFF: And who is that?

MR. GORDON: Brian Jack.

MR. SCHIFF: Anyone above Brian Jack?

MR. GORDON: It did get to Bill McGinley, Bill McGinley, who was put in charge by Don McGahn. Don McGahn was part of the process as well, but he wasn't in the room. So Bill McGinley and Don McGahn were the people that ran our effort for the GOP platform. So they were above Rick Dearborn. The two people that ran it were Don McGahn and Bill McGinley, his deputy. So Bill McGinley, to my understanding, was made aware of the issue, though neither Bill McGinley or Don McGahn came in the room for the final vote.

MR. SCHIFF: I want to ask you with respect to Carter Page. Corey Lewandowski approved his going to Russia, but said that he would be going in a personal capacity, not a campaign capacity?

MR. GORDON: Correct. And that's in my campaign email, so I imagine you guys have a copy of that.

MR. SCHIFF: And at the same time, during the trip, Carter Page

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still was affiliated with the campaign.

MR. GORDON: Right, correct.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know if Carter Page was representing in Moscow at the time that he was there as to whether he was there in his official capacity or not?

MR. GORDON: He told me he was going in his private capacity, but I don't know what he did over there.

MR. SCHIFF: You mentioned I think that there was a report to the contrary in Moscow, that he was representing he was there in his official capacity.

MR. GORDON: Yes, I've read that in the media over the past few months.

MR. SCHIFF: You don't know whether that's accurate or not?

MR. GORDON: I don't, but I do believe, watching one CNN report where I believe they had a sign that the New Economics School used to promote his event. And I think that sign did say he was a Trump adviser. So I tend to believe the media reports I read.

MR. SCHIFF: So it would be reasonable for the Russians to assume he was there as a representative of the campaign?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SCHIFF: And so if Mr. Steele in the dossier reported that Carter Page was there as a representative of the campaign, he might be receiving information that was accurate, as far as the Russians knew?

MR. GORDON: It's possible, yes. But, again, I know just because someone believes it doesn't make it the case.

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MR. SCHIFF: But in terms of your conclusion that this proves that the dossier is erroneous, if Mr. Steele was reporting that he was hearing from Russians that Carter Page was there in his official capacity, that may very well be true, isn't it?

MR. GORDON: That the Russians believed it, but that doesn't make it true either.

MR. SCHIFF: No, but it does make it true that the Russians believed he was there in his official capacity?

MR. GORDON: They very well may have believed that.

MR. SCHIFF: And, in fact, he may have represented exactly that.

MR. GORDON: He possibly did.

MR. SCHIFF: And if you look at that sign at his London event, it would appear that's the case, wouldn't it?

MR. GORDON: However, I know for a fact that he was not authorized to do it. The dossier gets to a point where it accuses the Trump administration of knowingly sending Carter Page to Russia as an agent of the campaign. So that's where the dossier is fictitious in that part, where it says that the Trump campaign had Carter Page go.

That's not the case. He went on his own, his own dime as his own personal representative. How he advertised himself there is different. So there is definitely some people talking past each other, I think, on that issue.

MR. SCHIFF: Let me just ask you, if I can, very quickly about some of the other people that were part of the national security team. Do you know whether Walid Phares did any foreign travel during the

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campaign?

MR. GORDON: Yes, but he had already left the campaign. He was only technically part of the campaign for about 2 weeks, and then he reverted to his surrogate role.

MR. SCHIFF: And where did he go outside the country?

MR. GORDON: He went to the European Parliament's EPP Party summer conference, which was in Split, Croatia.

MR. SCHIFF: And how about Joe Schmitz?

MR. GORDON: I don't know if he did or not.

MR. SCHIFF: And George Papadopoulos?

MR. GORDON: Well, George is based in London, so I knew he was traveling throughout Europe. I think he went to Israel once too. So I knew that. But these guys weren't doing official campaign events. Therefore, there wasn't a need to send me a form requesting to do whatever they were going to do, because they didn't do public speeches.

MR. SCHIFF: With respect to Mr. Phares, Mr. Schmitz, or Mr. Papadopoulos, are you aware of any of them ever being approached with derogatory information or offer of derogatory information on Secretary Clinton?

MR. GORDON: No, not to my knowledge.

MR. SCHIFF: Are you aware of anyone else affiliated with the national security team or the campaign who was approached with an offer of derogatory information on Secretary Clinton?

MR. GORDON: Not to my knowledge. I have read about it in the papers the last couple weeks since the Don, Jr. news broke, but other

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than that I'm not aware of anything. And I wasn't aware of it at the time, of course.

MR. SCHIFF: Yield the time back, Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: So we have four votes, and we I believe only have about 20 more minutes left of questions. Oh, two votes. So I think we'll be back here probably in 15 minutes and wrap this up.

MR. GORDON: Okay, fine. Sure.

[Recess.]

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[2:07 p.m.]

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know who WV is?

MR. GORDON: Well, that's West Virginia if you're referring to the email, or who the person was?

MR. SCHIFF: Right.

MR. GORDON: No, I had never heard of the name, but it was somebody connected to someone who had worked in Congress before.

MR. SCHIFF: Do you know why they used initials instead of the name?

MR. GORDON: Well, WV, I think -- I have to go back to the email, but I think he just said somebody from WV.

MR. SCHIFF: Oh, to --

MR. GORDON: I'd have to look, but our view, we also had a request from WV to set up a Putin meeting recently. I'm dubious of such things. I asked Pete to send you all so you can assess how legit this is. A request from West Virginia.

MR. SCHIFF: And you don't know why they wouldn't refer to the person from West Virginia that made the request?

MR. GORDON: No, because the person was inconsequential. It was somebody that knew someone who had been in Congress at some point. So I didn't know the person's name. Rick probably didn't remember. He just thought in generic terms, I imagine. You'd have to ask Rick Dearborn directly, but my sense was that he saw, yeah, we had a request from West Virginia that was nutty too, so --

MR. SCHIFF: Did you ever get a readout of Carter Page's trip?

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I think you mentioned to Mr. Swalwell that there was no written record of his trip. But did you ever discuss his trip with him after he returned or whether Corey Lewandowski or anyone else from the campaign did?

MR. GORDON: I don't believe he did that with anybody, because his central conduit was me, essentially, unless he was going around me. And I didn't want to talk to him about that. And he knew I was probably upset, that I had been telling him for a while it's a bad idea and then he went around me to Corey to get permission.

So when I saw him I was not very happy to see him, and I think he perceived that, so he didn't say any other words that weren't necessary other than hi, how are you.

MR. SCHIFF: And, now, he had gone around you to get the okay from Lewandowski. Do you know whether he followed up by once again reporting to Lewandowski about what happened on the trip?

MR. GORDON: I don't think he did. He may have, but I'm not aware of that.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you ever discuss with Lewandowski why Lewandowski said yes?

MR. GORDON: No, because he was fired a day or two later.

MR. SCHIFF: I may not have fully understood what you meant when Mr. Swalwell was asking you about the convention. At one point you said you were on hold with Dearborn and Mashburn. Did you mean literally on hold?

MR. GORDON: On the phone. On hold on the phone.

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MR. SCHIFF: And tell me again about what that circumstance was. When were you on hold with them?

MR. GORDON: The beginning of the meeting, towards the beginning when I asked the co-chair, Steve Yates, via the political whip, to please come over to discuss this amendment. We should table this till the end if she's not going to withdraw it. And then she didn't withdraw it. So then I called them to say, hey, we may have an issue here. Because their role was to go around to all the different subcommittees, the six, and just kind of manage things, along with Bill McGinley, who was Don McGahn's deputy. And I was talking to them and on hold a lot of the time, because they were walking around the convention floor.

MR. SCHIFF: And did they, either of them --

MR. GORDON: The Senate floor, I'm sorry.

MR. SCHIFF: Did either of them have a recommendation for you as to how you should handle it?

MR. GORDON: No. Just make sure the co-chair is aware of the issue, and he'll have them vote appropriately.

MR. SCHIFF: And just so I have a complete list of the folks that Mr. Clovis brought in, who were the members of the national security team that he brought in?

MR. GORDON: The five mentioned at The Washington Post on March 20, 2016. So that was Keith Kellogg, Walid Phares, George Papadopoulos, Carter Page, and Joe Schmitz. And then the next week at the New York Times, he mentioned three more who were on that list: Chuck Kubic, Burt Mizusawa, and Gary Harrell.

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MR. SCHIFF: Now, you mentioned some of these folks were overseas. Which of those were overseas?

MR. GORDON: George Papadopoulos lived in London.

MR. SCHIFF: So he was the only one that lived outside the country?

MR. GORDON: Of those eight, to my knowledge, that's right. Gary Harrell was in Tennessee. So I actually only saw him once on the campaign, and he never met or briefed Mr. Trump or provided any work product. He came to a cookout that Keith Kellogg had in the summer.

MR. SCHIFF: And how much interaction did you have with Mr. Papadopoulos?

MR. GORDON: Minimal.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you see him again after that? He was at that initial meeting?

MR. GORDON: He was. The next time I saw him -- I believe it was the only other time I saw him on the campaign -- was in midsummer at the Capitol Hill Club, one of our dinners. I had organized with Tera Dahl that Senator Sessions was going to be the keynote for, if you will, for the campaign update, essentially, and just socialize. He came to that meeting, and that was probably in the end of June.

MR. SCHIFF: Did you ever discuss with him Mr. Page's trip to Russia?

MR. GORDON: No, because there was really no reason to discuss it. George and I didn't really talk much at that event, because there were 12 people, and I was basically bringing the Senator in and out.

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MR. SCHIFF: And how many times did you speak with him over the phone?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall ever speaking to George on the phone.

MR. SCHIFF: So the only real interaction you had with him then was at that first meeting?

MR. GORDON: Yes. And at the dinner, which he was at the dinner seated on the other side of Senator Sessions. So I exchanged pleasantries and asked how he was and things like that.

MR. SCHIFF: I think that's all I have.

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Gordon, do you recall an August 5th, 2016, email exchange with Carter Page about a Tetove-Trump meeting?

MR. GORDON: A Tetove-Trump meeting? Thank you very much.

MR. SWALWELL: Just for the majority, 4921 is the Bates number.

MR. GORDON: Yes. Yeah, I'm familiar with this.

MR. SWALWELL: So this was an August 2016 email from Carter Page to you. So this is after he's gone to Moscow, right?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And it looks like you guys are still at least communicating by email?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And he is putting forward to you a request that a Boris Tetove has to meet with the campaign. Is that correct?

MR. GORDON: Tetove, which is why I was lost for a second. Tetove.

MR. SWALWELL: Who is Boris Tetove?

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MR. GORDON: Boris Tetove, I've never met him or spoken with him, but I read that he was a political party chairman in Russia of a minority party, and he has some role with the Russian Government in some advisory capacity is what I read. And I declined a meeting with him.

MR. SWALWELL: And in the email, Carter Page actually recommends against meeting with him.

MR. GORDON: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you find it strange that he passed along a request from a Russian to meet with the campaign and then said that he also didn't think the campaign should meet with him? I guess just like why is he wasting your time with this?

MR. GORDON: People sent me emails all the time with things that I thought were probably a waste of time. So I think he was probably just doing due diligence, because it was the director of the committee, and had Yulia, the person who was Boris Tetove's assistant, then came back to him and said, well, why didn't you pass it along, then maybe he didn't want to have a problem with Boris Tetove down the road. So that's my only guess.

MR. SCHIFF: What's Yulia's full name?

MR. GORDON: I think it says here.

MR. SWALWELL: Just for our record.

MR. GORDON: Netesova. Netesova.

MR. SWALWELL: In the email, you I believe mention to Carter that you have actually already talked to Yulia about this.

MR. GORDON: Yes, well, via email. She asked me if she could set

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up a meeting with her boss, Boris Tetove, and the campaign. She allegedly got my information, my email from Dimitri Simes over at CNI. And so I thanked her for her email and I said that I would keep her posted if we're able to do something like that. But I knew that it would never happen and I never passed it along to anyone. So I think she also tried Carter too.

MR. SWALWELL: Which email did she get of yours?

MR. GORDON: Which email?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes, your campaign email or your personal account?

MR. GORDON: My Yahoo account.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So you have Yahoo account correspondence with Yulia?

MR. GORDON: That is correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And is that something that you'd be willing to go back --

MR. GORDON: Absolutely.

MR. SWALWELL: -- and look at and produce?

MR. GORDON: I can send it to you. The Senate Intel Committee has a copy of it. I have already given it to them. They asked for it.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Why were you wary of that meeting?

MR. GORDON: Well, I didn't want to take any meetings with Russians, because I knew it could be controversial. The ambassador, eating chicken satays with him at a network reception has been blown in all disproportion. It's been blown out of proportion where I got

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to be public enemy number one, practically, for just doing that. Could you imagine meeting some other Russians?

MR. SWALWELL: Did Yulia ask you to meet with any other Russians?

MR. GORDON: No, just Boris Tetove.

MR. SWALWELL: Other than that email and the email with reference to the WV, were there any other requests that came to you, either by email, telephone, text message, or phone call to meet with a Russian national?

MR. GORDON: Yes, just the one, which you probably have a copy of in my campaign email, where the Russian Embassy asked me to a private breakfast, invited me to a private breakfast with Ambassador Kislyak. Because after we left Cleveland, he had given me his email address. And I sent maybe about a dozen notes to different ambassadors. You have them. And I declined the breakfast.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you tell anyone on -- any senior member of the Trump campaign or the President himself about Yulia's request for you to meet with Mr. Tetove?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you tell anyone on the Trump campaign or the President himself about the, what we'll call the WV email request?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you tell anyone on the Trump campaign or the President himself about the ambassador's request?

MR. GORDON: Yes. Senator Sessions. And he told me that he got a similar request for a lunch. And I told the Senator that that's not

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a good idea for us to do, the breakfast and the lunch. He says, yeah, I agree, not a good idea. And we didn't do them.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions ever talk to you about any meeting he'd ever had with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions ever talk to you about any meeting he'd ever had with any Russian national?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever seen Senator Sessions meet with a Russian National?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to Rick --

MR. GORDON: Well, yes, let me restate that, rephrase that. When I shook Ambassador Kislyak's hand in a group of many ambassadors after I gave my speech in Cleveland at the Case Western Reserve University 20 July, that was in the morning. My panel maybe -- was maybe around 9:30 or 10, lasted a while. Senator Sessions had a lunchtime speech. And so after his lunchtime speech, he was similarly approached by a lot of the ambassadors. So I did see Ambassador Kislyak and Senator Sessions shake hands in a group of people and they talked. But it was not a private meeting.

MR. SWALWELL: Other than meeting Ambassador Kislyak at the convention on two different occasions, right, it sounds like?

MR. GORDON: Two occasions on the same day.

MR. SWALWELL: Right.

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MR. GORDON: Total, 3 to 5 minutes, total.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever meet another or talk to or have an encounter with another Russian national up until Election Day?

MR. GORDON: Not that I recall.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you have your remarks from what you said on that panel?

MR. GORDON: I had them in a note card that I -- usually when I give a speech I don't -- I don't give speeches that are -- I write out and have to say, particularly if I'm on a panel. I usually have a three-by-five note card, and I don't believe I still have that.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you talk at all about U.S.-Russia relations?

MR. GORDON: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: And what was the gist of it, if you remember?

MR. GORDON: I basically recapped some of the points that Mr. Trump had made in his foreign policy speech at the Mayflower on the 26th of April, saying the same things he did, and we that should have better relations with Russia, we should cooperate against radical Islamic terror groups.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you express any skepticism about Russia, as you had in the past?

MR. GORDON: No, because that's inconsistent with Mr. Trump's view. And I was there to represent Mr. Trump, not myself personally. I will mention that the Ukrainian Ambassador was the first person to come up to me after my speech, and he let me know what his feelings were. He was pretty passionate about it.

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MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. GORDON: In front of other ambassadors. And he asked a question in front of 50-plus people to me too. And he was not shy about letting me know how he felt.

MR. SWALWELL: Did any other panelists talk about U.S.-Russia relations?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall them doing that, no. They may have, but I don't recall them doing it.

MR. SWALWELL: So at the Jones Day reception, that's where you said you saw Carter Page also talking to the ambassador. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: Well -- yes, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: How long did you observe him talking to the ambassador?

MR. GORDON: From the time that I was there, maybe just a minute, but it was in the group conversation with the Azerbaijan Ambassador and Kazakhstan Ambassador. Those guys were drinking, they weren't eating, and me and the ambassador were the ones eating. But it was very benign boilerplate stuff about better relations, energy security.

MR. SWALWELL: On June 6, 2016, Rick Dearborn sent Tara Dahl an email, copying you and Andrew Smith, stating: "Let me know if Russia, Saudi Arabia (rescheduled we know) and China also ask for meetings. We'd like to do those in one day with Jared once all have reached out...no reach out on our part." Do you remember that email?

MR. GORDON: I don't recall it, but it's not unusual that I wouldn't recall a meeting -- rather, an email. I got thousands of

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emails, as you guys printed out.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. I can get that.

I guess, can you just give us a sense of how many times requests were made around Russia? It seems like you were blocking a lot of them, you know, for the reasons you told us about.

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: But did Russia exceed the requests that you were getting from other countries?

MR. GORDON: Let me take a look at this, if you don't mind, a second.

MR. ASHBY: Sir, do you want to Bates number this for the record?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes. Thanks.

MR. ASHBY: 843.

MR. SWALWELL: 843 is the Bates number.

MR. GORDON: Yes. You see what this is, Congressman, is Rick Dearborn saying: "Let me know if Russia, Saudi Arabia (rescheduled we know) and China also ask for meetings. We'd like to do those in one day with Jared once all have reached out...no reach out on our part."

So this was not a request. This was we had a list of ten, roughly ten meetings with foreign embassies we were going to do, including Saudi Arabia. So Rick Dearborn went the extra mile here to say, let me know if Russia or China also asks. Russia hadn't asked, to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know why he was looking out for that, Rick, Mr. Dearborn?

MR. GORDON: I don't know. Probably because Russia and China are

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major geopolitical players. The list we had, the way it worked is Walid Phares came up with a list of embassies to see who were actually personal friends of his or in his network. The ambassador from Spain, UAE, Saudi Arabia. He came up with a list of ten. And he did one of them with Tara with the Embassy of Italy. And then what happened is we communicated that up the chain and we were basically told cease and desist, that Jared would do any and all meetings with any foreign governments, ambassadors.

MR. SWALWELL: And was Russia on Walid's list?

MR. GORDON: It was not, nor was China.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if any of those meetings were scheduled with Jared?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Which ones?

MR. GORDON: Three of them: UAE, Spain, and I think the Saudis, but I may be mistaken. And he did those. So Tara and I were asked to come up with basically bio sheets for three people who were experts in those countries that Jared could talk to for 10 minutes on the phone before the meetings.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, you sometimes were on email chains that included Jared, Hope Hicks, and Manafort. Is that right?

MR. GORDON: Yes, that's right.

MR. SWALWELL: And was it normal to coordinate op-eds or speeches with the New York folks? And I'll just give you Bates stamp 3202 just to --

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MR. GORDON: Yes. Thank you.

MR. SWALWELL: -- put into context what we're talking about.

It's an email from Rick Dearborn to you and the chain below that he reads you in on.

MR. GORDON: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: The subject is: Op-ed for Monday on Clinton corruption.

MR. GORDON: Yes. We had some of our supporters that would write. Like Ken Timmerman, for instance, he would write op-eds for the Hill. And since I had been a columnist for the Hill too prior to the campaign, I was able to do my regular life, if you will, on the Huckabee campaign and get paid, paid staff. But I couldn't do anything on the Trump campaign, couldn't write, anything like that. However, our surrogates, I was encouraged to get our surrogates to write nice things. So friends of mine, people like Ken who are already writing for the Hill.

So our procedure was for our surrogates, to send them to New York to get approval on what they would say. But I would say that only lasted a few weeks, because New York quit responding. They were too busy. So then I just would tell people, sure, write a column, knock yourself out.

MR. SWALWELL: Who would give approval for those pieces in New York? Was it Hope Hicks?

MR. GORDON: No. It was Michael Glassner, the deputy campaign manager. And he may have approved one. Maybe he didn't. And then

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New York became unresponsive. It was just too much information. And it was just not even worth my time to get into the weeds of them other than to say, you should do this, you should do that. You have all my emails, so you can verify.

MR. SWALWELL: And, Mr. Gordon, that email references an op-ed on Clinton corruption. Are you aware of anyone who provided information to you or anyone on the campaign, information about Hillary Clinton or any other political candidate or party or individual during the campaign, meaning were you being given opposition research information on Secretary Clinton?

MR. GORDON: No, I wasn't. I wasn't. The RNC may have received oppo from people, but I wasn't part of that. And Ken's op-ed's from Ken, so it's not from me.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. And I'm not talking about just like original thought. I'm saying like research.

MR. GORDON: Oh, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you ever receiving research on Ms. Clinton?

MR. GORDON: No, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know of anyone who was?

MR. GORDON: No, not on our campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: Just a few more questions, Mr. Gordon. With respect to some other individuals who have come up, how long have you known Jeff Sessions, Senator Sessions?

MR. GORDON: Yeah. I've known him since 2009, but not well up until March, when I got to know him extremely well. We worked very

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closely together for six months until I left the campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: When was the last time you talked to him?

MR. GORDON: Just after the elections.

MR. SWALWELL: And General Flynn?

MR. GORDON: You know, I'm glad you asked that. I have never met him, never talked to him. We were on an email thread which you have about an op-ed that Keith Kellogg had written that he, you know, wanted to put on his Facebook page instead of let Keith actually put it in the Wall Street Journal. But no, I had no contact with him whatsoever other than being on the same email trail for that one time that you have.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if others on the campaign were aware that General Flynn had gone to Moscow in December of 2015?

MR. GORDON: No. I wasn't aware of it until I read media reports since then.

MR. SWALWELL: Your attorney's response to our committee refers to a diplomatic response coordinator for the Trump campaign. Are you familiar with that?

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who was that person?

MR. GORDON: Tara Dahl.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And what did that mean?

MR. GORDON: Well, initially the thought was Walid wanted to have a deputy, and so he brought her in and they gave her the title of diplomatic outreach coordinator. And they were well on their way to

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doing that, like I mentioned, around the May timeframe, and they had the plan and they were executing. Because we had requests from some embassies like some of Walid's -- they were mostly Walid's friends, frankly. But that was shut down by Jared pretty quickly. He was really in charge of --

MR. SWALWELL: Jared was?

MR. GORDON: Yes, Jared was in charge of all diplomatic contacts and --

MR. SWALWELL: What was your sense of Jared? You know, a lot of people say he's a political novice, didn't really know what he was doing, but hearing from you, it sounds like he had, you know, a lot of responsibilities and the presence of mind to take on more or shut down what was going on.

MR. GORDON: The two aren't mutually exclusive. You could be a political novice and be in the middle of everything and --

MR. SWALWELL: I don't mean like political novice. I mean like he didn't really -- he was in over his head. Was that your sense, that he was in over his head?

MR. GORDON: Well, I never met him or talked to him. And we were on some emails together, but most of the time when I would hear what Jared wants to do or not want, does not want to do, it would come from Rick Dearborn.

MR. SWALWELL: Roger Stone, have you ever met him?

MR. GORDON: You know, I'm glad you asked that too. No, never met him, never communicated with him. Been following his story in the

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press.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar with anything Mr. Stone was doing from others you interacted with on the campaign?

MR. GORDON: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Erik Prince?

MR. GORDON: I know who it is, but I never met with him, never communicated with him.

MR. SWALWELL: Admiral Richard Burt. We talked about him.

MR. GORDON: Yes. I know who it is, but we never communicated either. I was very amused to see he said he wrote that speech, which I think is false, by the way.

MR. SWALWELL: Success has a thousand fathers; failure is an orphan.

MR. GORDON: Exactly right.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you aware that the RNC rules prohibit campaign participation in the platform?

MR. GORDON: That the what?

MR. SWALWELL: That the RNC rules -- is it true, I guess, that the RNC rules prohibit campaigns participating in the platform?

MR. GORDON: If that's a rule, I have not seen that. But we didn't participate in the sense of a vote of changing the platform, so to speak. So we were there to advise the delegates on the campaign positions, just like the campaigns did for McCain and Bush and Romney. It was the same role. It's not any different than what happened in the past.

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MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Gordon -- I don't know if you guys have any other questions -- I appreciate you sticking around for votes, and if you guys have any followup with us, you do have a right, as he mentioned, to review the transcript.

MR. GORDON: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: And we'll reserve the right if we get more information to ask for more documents or for you to come back.

MR. GORDON: Sure. And we owe you that email trail with Yulia, so we'll get that to you.

MR. ASHBY: How should we send that in, through staff?

[REDACTED] We'll work it out. Thanks very much, Mr. Gordon. Appreciate your time.

MR. GORDON: Thanks.

[Whereupon, at 2:32 p.m., the interview was concluded.]

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